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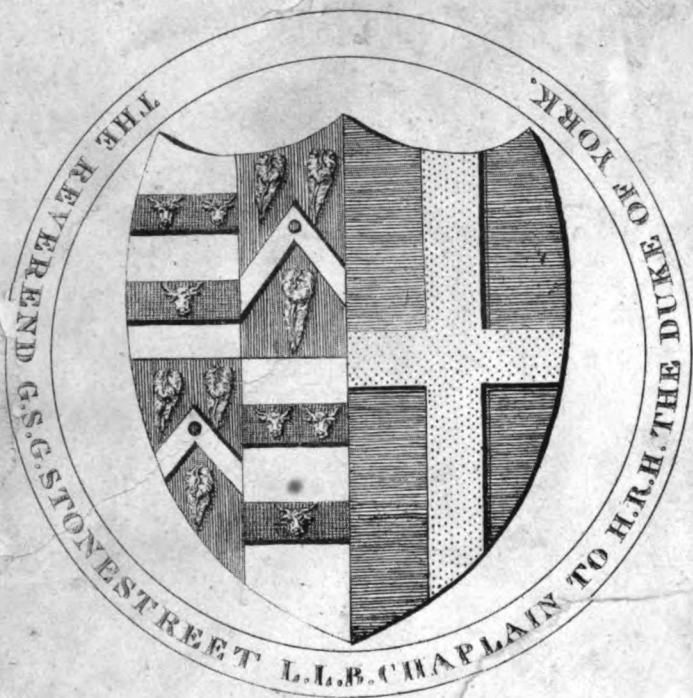
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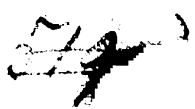


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A
PORTRAITURE
OF THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION;
OR,
AN UNPREJUDICED SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY, DOCTRINES, OPINIONS, DISCIPLINE,
AND PRESENT STATE OF
CATHOLICISM:
WITH AN
APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
A SUMMARY OF THE LAWS NOW IN FORCE AGAINST
ENGLISH AND IRISH CATHOLICS.

BY THE
REV. J. NIGHTINGALE,
AUTHOR OF 'A PORTRAITURE OF METHODISM,' &c.

I take myself bound to charge no man to be of a religion which he denieth.
BAXTER.

London:
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PREFACE.

SINCERELY devoted to the great cause of Catholic Emancipation, yet zealously attached to the religion of Protestants, I hesitated for some time on the propriety and usefulness of publishing the result of my inquiries concerning the faith and worship of Roman Catholics. To encounter the prejudices and mistakes of my friends, and my enemies, if I have any, by taking, what some will call, a favourable view of the Church of Rome, presented no contemptible obstacle to my mind. Yet, convinced that hitherto no Protestant writer has done full justice to the subject, I was not willing to forego the pleasure of, at least, endeavouring to shew, that the religion of our ancestors has been mistaken, and that unworthy and groundless alarms are excited in consequence of that mistake. Some of my friends, themselves favourably inclined towards the claims of Catholics, had their fears, that if I drew a true portrait of the Catholic Church, so far from serving, I should considerably injure the

cause of toleration and religious liberty. This objection would most assuredly have effectually put an end to the whole undertaking, had I not been fully convinced of its futility. The reasons, on which that conviction is grounded, the reader will find in the first and last sections of the following work, as well as, occasionally, in other parts—they need not be repeated in this place. I have only to request the reader to observe the exact purport of my title-page, and he will then bear in mind, that this work professes to give a view of the Roman Catholic RELIGION, and not of Roman Catholic Courts—not even exactly of the Court of Rome itself. This attention will remove much ground of complaint, as many I know will complain, that I have omitted to notice this plot and that massacre, this notion and that practice, the conduct of this priest and of that prelate. When murders, and seditions, and plots, and persecutions, are adduced against Roman Catholics, it is sufficient to give this one plain and obvious answer:—They are acts which form no part of the Roman Catholic RELIGION; and I, of course, had, comparatively speaking, nothing to do with them: the records of them may serve to amuse those persons who have no better argument in support of that system of intolerance, which has been so long exercised against the Roman Catholics of this

country and of Ireland :—the character, the liberties, and the faith of our present Catholics, such arguments do not, or ought not to, affect.

The following work is divided into two parts : the first treats of the history of Catholicism to the time of the Reformation : the second delineates the leading doctrines, and the principal branches of discipline. The views of Catholics respecting civil authority I have traced at some length, in various printed documents, and the Articles of Faith I have carefully collected from such works of acknowledged authority as have fallen in my way ; nor have I spared either labour or expense in procuring correct information on these several subjects.

There are ~~no~~ words in which I can sufficiently express my sense of the great openness and unreserved readiness with which the clergy and the laity of the Roman Catholic Church have made their communications to me, whenever I have applied to them for information. If I stood in need of any inducement to think favourably of the good sense and candour of these insulted people, I should find it in that frankness and generosity, which every where, except in one solitary instance, have been exer-

cised towards me. When I first suggested to them the plan and design of this work, I was a perfect stranger, otherwise than as I might be known through the medium of my former publications; but they all earnestly urged me to undertake it, and to form my account of their Church and tenets from their own formularies, and writings of acknowledged authority among them, and not from the publications of their adversaries. They, moreover, advised me to distinguish between the Articles of their Faith, and the opinions of individuals. With these intimations, and this advice, seconded by the greatest condescension and goodness in procuring me such books as lay in their power to supply me with, they left me to my own impressions, without, in the most distant or slight degree, attempting to influence me in my inferences or conclusions. If, therefore, I have erred in my statements, the fault must be my own—if I be correct, I owe it not to any positive assistance, otherwise than by books and general advice; and I may be allowed to claim, at least, the merit of patient industry and impartial investigation. The name of the gentleman, who kindly furnished me with the short view of the arguments in support of the Pope's supremacy, is given along with that paper.

When, on a former occasion, I ventured

before the public as the author of a *Portraiture of Methodism*,* a system of faith supported by people very different in many of their habits and views from those whose history I have now attempted to delineate, I felt myself secure in the general accuracy of all my statements. I wrote with freedom, because I knew it was impossible for me materially to err: but in this instance, I must confess, almost every page has been committed to press with fear and trembling, lest I should injure, through my mistakes, rather than promote by the faithfulness of my representations, a cause in which I feel a deep and serious interest—
THE EMANCIPATION OF ROMAN

* Perhaps I may be allowed, in allusion to that work, in this place to say, that, had I been aware of the ill use which some persons, professed enemies of the Methodists, have since made of some facts therein stated, I certainly should not have felt myself free to have communicated them; and even could I have conceived it possible, that the general strain of writing pursued in the *Portraiture of Methodism* could have been construed into an indirect attack on a numerous and valuable body of my fellow Christians, among whom I have still the pleasure to enumerate some of my warmest and most affectionate friends, I should have paused ere I had written any thing that could be regarded as disrespectful to religion, or painful even to the harmless prejudices of any pious and well-meaning Christian. With these concessions, which I make in the most voluntary manner, I wish to be perfectly understood, that I have no fact to contradict—no statement of consequence to deny.

CATHOLICS, AND THE REPEAL OF ALL THOSE DISGRACEFUL PENAL STATUTES WHICH AGGRIEVE AND OPPRESS THE DISSENTERS OF THIS GREAT AND ENLIGHTENED EMPIRE.

Ever accustomed freely and openly to express my sentiments, religious or political, whatever inconveniences I might suffer in consequence, I have not hesitated, in the following pages, at times, to write in terms which I fear will not prove pleasing to any party. In mentioning the Fathers, for instance, on page 25, if I have seemed to speak with disrespect concerning those venerable sages, it has not been because I feel no regard for the opinions or the reasonings of many of the ancient and primitive defenders of our common salvation; but I am nevertheless convinced, that an implicit reliance on the reasonings or decisions of even those early writers is injurious to the cause of truth, and the real interests of religious inquiry; and I may here add, that in asserting that the Fathers have agreed in hardly a single point of doctrine or discipline, I am supported by no less an authority than our own Royal Martyr (as he is oddly termed), Charles I., who speaking of these very writers, in his conference with the Marquis of Worcester, A. D. 1646, in

Ragland Castle,* thus expresses himself: "I discover no Father's nakedness, but deplore their infirmities, that we should not trust in arms of flesh. Tertullian was a Montanist; Cyprian a Rebaptist; Origen an Anthropomorphist; Jerome a Monogamist; Nazianzen an Angelist; Eusebius an Arian: St. Austin had written so many errors, that he wrote a book of Retractions; and, indeed, they have often contradicted one another, and sometimes even themselves."

If in some instances it should be thought I have written with too much freedom respecting the Church establishment of this country, or rather against Church and State unions in general, I beg it may be understood, that so far from wishing to feel disrespect towards the national Church, I have a sincere and warm regard for the morals and learning of many, nay, of a large majority of our clergy; and this regard I have never failed to express on all proper occasions.† But I am, nevertheless,

* *Certamen Religiosum*, p. 114.

† It may not be improper here to notice, that I am at present engaged in collecting materials for "A PORTRAITURE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; or, a View of the Origin, History, Doctrines, Discipline, and present State of the reformed Religion of GREAT BRITAIN." Should any of my readers favour me, through the medium of my booksellers, with their advice or assistance in this undertaking, I shall hold myself under great obligations to them.

decided in my opinion, that the union of Church and State, after the manner in which these things are usually conducted, is a forced and unnatural connexion; really injurious to the true interests of both, and contrary to the spirit and letter of the New Testament of Jesus Christ.

Many Protestant readers will inquire why I have omitted to notice in the following work, the various prophecies of the Sacred Scriptures which are thought, by some, so clearly to allude to the rise, progress, decline, and destruction of popery. I wish to treat the opinions of those many eminent and excellent writers who have treated on this subject with respect; but I must throw myself on their candour, while I state, that it is my firm persuasion, no clear and unequivocal proof can be made out, that either Daniel or St. John had an eye peculiarly directed against the Church of Rome, or even against the spiritual head of that church. I perused with attention all that Bishop Newton, Mr. Mede, Mr. Faber, Mr. Kett, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Bicheno, and many other writers have written on the subject, and had prepared a Section on the prophecies supposed to relate to the Church of Rome, and the destruction of Spiritual Babylon; but motives of respect for the opinions of many Protestant writers of the highest celebrity, from whom I have felt

myself compelled to differ, have induced me, for the present, to withhold my sentiments on these topics. I have been often amused by comparing the various interpretations which commentators have given of the passage in the 13th chapter, and the 18th verse, of the Book of Revelations:—"Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred, threescore and six." Without pretending to determine which of them is right, I have met with such a confusion and contrariety among learned Commentators on this passage, that I should have thought it impertinent in me to have alluded to any one of them, in treating of the faith of Roman Catholics. It has served, however, to exercise the ingenuity of Expositors of every description. One will have the mystical number to mean the Pope—another, Louis XVI.—a third is quite clear that St. John meant thereby to designate Martin Luther, and a large number of expounders have lately discovered that certainly the name of the beast is the number of Napoleon Bonaparte! The Roman Catholic interpreters are quite clear that the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse is no other than idolatrous Rome, before the introduction of Christianity; and Sig. Pastorini, in his History of the Church, is decided, that the Reformation in Germany was the iden-

tical smoke of the bottomless pit ! Though some learned Protestants tell us, that Papal, and not Pagan, Rome is clearly the Babylon* of the New Testament !—yet the late Mr. Simpson seemed quite sure that not to “ be partaker of her sins,” he must separate from the Church of England ! It is somewhat strange, that few, if any one, should have conceived that these meta-

* That Rome is not the Great Babylon of the *Apocalypse* is very doubtful, because, 1. Babylon is represented as one of the greatest cities in the world (Rev. xvii. 18, and xviii. 18) ; but modern Rome is a very small city, compared with others, and but the tenth part of what it was. 2. Babylon is one of the strongest cities in the world (Rev. xviii. 7 and 8) ; but Rome is so weak that it has seldom been besieged without being taken. 3. Babylon is one of the most prosperous cities in the world, and was never to know sorrow, till sudden destruction came upon her ; but Rome, though she has had her days of pleasure and prosperity, has had those of affliction and sorrow also, which Babylon is to have but once, that is, when her sudden destruction comes upon her, and not before. (Rev. xviii. 9, 8, 10. Rev. xvii. 19, 21.) 4. Babylon is represented so confident of her own strength, as to flatter herself she shall never be conquered ; but Rome has been frequently a prey to the Goths, Vandals, &c., and therefore might justly fear she might be taken again. 5. Babylon was not to taste the cup of God's wrath before the seventh, or *last* vial was poured out (Rev. xvi. 9) ; but the city of Rome has tasted it often, and was at one time brought to such a desolate state, that neither man, woman, nor child was seen in it for forty days together ; and, lastly, Babylon is seated near the sea, and her merchants were to carry on immense trade and commerce, till the very moment of her ruin (Rev. xviii. 11, 19.), while Rome, since she became the seat of the sovereign pontiffs, has been not only without trade entirely, but even a closed port.

phorical allusions might very well be supposed to relate, not to this or that church in particular, but to a general apostasy from the plain and simple doctrine of Christ and his apostles. To this conclusion they might have come, by observing that, whatever else is meant to be understood by the figure, the apostle describes the personified apostasy, by informing us, that "upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, &c." I wish those who are so desirous of introducing *mysteries* into the *revealed* religion of the Son of God would reflect on this; and then let those who are free on this score cast the first stone at the mysterious Church of Rome.

When I first conceived the idea of the following work, I had a wish and intention of introducing some topics of importance, which upon mature reflection, and experience in the undertaking, I have found it impossible to do. The subject is great and extensive; and to have done justice to every part of it, which I had first projected, would have swelled my work very much beyond its present bulk; but it is not improbable, should the present volume meet with a favourable reception with the public, that I may be induced to pursue the subject; by which I shall be able to introduce those points, and particularly

that relating to the origin and progress of the Catholic question, which I have now unavoidably omitted. The history of the Jesuits and the Jansenists would of itself form a highly curious and interesting work ; and a general view of the history of Catholicism in this country since the Revolution of 1688, with a view of its present state in the various countries of Christendom, would not be unworthy the notice and regard of the religious and political world.

The influence which the French Revolution has had on Catholicism was a topic on which I much wished to have enlarged, giving at the same time a general view of the Gallican Church, which at all times has manifested a praiseworthy spirit of independence on the Pope and the Court of Rome. Did not this subject lead too much into extensive detail, I am convinced it would add considerably to the value and interest of my work ; at least it would furnish this important inference, that the practice of persecution in any Catholic state has not depended on the influence or authority of the papal power, or the peculiar nature of the Roman Catholic religion ; seeing, that in France, where that influence was ever the least operative, more victims have been immolated at the shrine of bigotry and state ty-

ranny than in any other kingdom or state of Europe.*

* On page 501, in a note, I have mentioned the name of Lord Petre: since that part was printed, I have met with the following particulars, which I will take this opportunity to introduce:—The character of Lord Petre was remarkably dignified and amiable; it is thus sketched in the preface to Dr. Geddes's Translation of the Psalms:—"His Lordship's exalted and amiable character will not soon be forgotten.—Adored by his family, the centre of a numerous and honourable band of friends, connected with some of the most illustrious personages in the kingdom, all of whom revered and loved him; the warm and steady friend of civil and religious liberty; the soul of the successful attempts in 1778 and 1779, for the relief of his Roman Catholic brethren; but, in his expanded benevolence, knowing no difference of Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or Infidel, his Lordship seemed to exist only for purposes of charity and munificence: his death (though his conscientious adherence to his religious principles kept him from the public situations to which his birth, his possessions, and his character, entitled him) was generally bewailed as a public loss."

The following circumstance, in which his Lordship bore a principal part, is one of many proofs of Roman Catholic loyalty. In consequence of some occurrences, in the years 1791 and 1792, the committee of the Roman Catholic body, had thoughts of sending the late Dr. Hussey, the titular Bishop of Waterford, to Rome, to clear up the erroneous notions, which, they thought, were entertained there of their proceedings; and Lord Petre undertook to defray the expenses of the Dr.'s journey.—The instructions given to Dr. Hussey contain the following article:—"If any scruple should be raised about the act of settlement, and limiting the succession of the crown to the Protestant line, Mr. Hussey will not permit that subject to be discussed, because the English Catholics acknowledge no authority to interfere with the succession of their kings, but the law of the land, the authority of which law, they have already solemnly acknowledged by their oath of allegiance of 1778."

Dr.

If any Protestant should infer, that because I have taken a somewhat favourable view of Popery, as it is called, I am, therefore, inclined to admit the truth of its doctrines, or the scriptural authority of its discipline, let me be permitted to assert, that so far from having become more inclined to admit those doctrines, by the investigations in which I have been necessarily engaged, *I am, if possible, more disposed to express my gratitude and praise to the Great Governor of the Universe, that I have been born and educated among Protestants*, and that I have the unspeakable privilege of deciding for myself what appears to my own mind to be the genuine religion of the Son of God, and what the weak and fallible "commandments of men."

It is not needful for me to say a single word respecting the style and manner in which this publication has been written; nor how far I have made a good or ill use of the materials before me. These are matters which belong so entirely to the public and the critics, that I must be content to submit to their decisions, as I shall always be happy to profit by their advice.

LONDON, *July* 18, 1812.

Dr. Hussey's projected journey did not take place: but the above extract of his instructions deserves to be preserved, on account of the true sentiments of loyalty, which it expresses.

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A PORTRAITURE, &c.

PART I.

SECTION I.

Difficulties attending an undertaking of this nature—Design of the present Work—On the use of the term Catholic—Papist a term of reproach—Legal appellation of Catholics in Great Britain.

IN narrating the History, and portraying the Character of the Roman Catholic Religion, a most valuable and elaborate mass of materials presents itself. Whatever is venerable in Antiquities, important in History, or interesting in Religion and Politics, calls for consideration in an investigation of this nature. During the long eventful succession of, perhaps, thirteen centuries, the Religion of Christian Rome has possessed the minds of Princes, and guided the

councils of Politicians in almost all the kingdoms and states of the civilized world.

A subject so extensive in its objects, important in its consequences, and, withal, so remote in its origin, must necessarily be attended with considerable difficulty and obscurity. These unavoidable perplexities are increased by those clouds of superstition, ignorance, intolerance, prejudice, vindictiveness, and mistake, which for centuries have been collecting, in almost impenetrable masses, to shut out the rays of truth and darken every avenue to historical accuracy.

Another circumstance, particularly unfavourable to the early part of my undertaking, arises in the triteness of the subject. The same truths have been narrated again and again; the same falsehoods have been stated, defended, and refuted in every possible shape. Syllogisms without number have demonstrated and destroyed the same fact; sophism and argumentation have in their turns exemplified and confused the same event:

One thinks on Luther Heaven's own spirit felt,
Another deems him instrument of Hell;

and as one or other of these mistakes has predominated, the records of history have been twisted to answer any or every purpose. Yet this subject in one point of view remains, as

far as I know, untouched: I believe no protestant writer has ever yet attempted to describe the Catholic *Church*, as distinct from the Catholic *Court* of Rome; and to display the doctrines and internal discipline of that Church as they are stated and explained by accredited, and universally-acknowledged authors among the Catholics themselves. I know of no writer, who has paid sufficient attention to this obvious truth: that every well informed Christian, of whatever Church or Sect, better knows his own 'opinions, and conceives more justly of the bearings and tendency of his own faith than any other person; that every Church or Society must be the properest judges of its own doctrine and government. This then is the ground I take; this the great design of my work, to give a faithful account of the Catholic Religion, in doctrine and discipline; and to represent these points exactly as Catholics themselves understand and describe them. I am to draw a picture of a living object; and that I may not give an unfair or an improper likeness, I have placed the original before me, rather than copy any picture of the same object that has hitherto been given. But it may be asked, by those who do not discriminate between the candid statement of a fact, and the defence of its consequences, what Protestant, particularly what Protestant Dissenter, will presume to lift up his voice to advocate the cause of the "mother of harlots?" Who will venture his

reputation in the little band against the myriads of zealots, learned and unlearned, priest and layman, king and subject, to support "the beast with seven heads and ten horns?" Who, that is not himself "drunk with the wine of her abominations," will plead for "the scarlet whore of fallen Babylon?" And who, however willing, is "sufficient for these things?" Not the present writer, truly: he is neither willing nor able to cope with powers so mighty; but he dare plead the cause of justice and of charity; he has sufficient courage to meet the most pointed shafts of prejudice and mistake, armed, as he feels himself, to be, with the invulnerable panoply of truth. Strictly speaking, in describing the *Religion* of Catholics he has nothing to do with the burning of heretics; the deposition of kings; the interdicts of Churches or of nations, though these matters shall not be overlooked by him. No one can be more willing than himself to reprobate, in the strongest possible terms, the wickedness of Popes, or the arrogance and spiritual tyranny of Priests. He is a Protestant, from long and serious conviction; but does it, therefore, follow, that he should cherish in his bosom feelings of revenge against those who still adhere to the religion of his ancestors, merely because those ancestors, in some instances, acted unworthy of their Christian calling, and fell into the common snares and common errors of their times? And he must add, that even could it enter into the design of

this work to attempt an apology for the principles, or an excuse for the practices of any part, or of any age of the Catholic Church, it would be no very difficult task to demonstrate, that the crimes by which her annals are disgraced, have in no instance originated from an adherence to any prescribed forms of religious conduct; or any sentiment enforced in her books of devotion and worship.* Much in extenuation might be offered on account of the mental darkness, the political bondage, and the mistaken policy of the ages in which those enormities were committed; while much obloquy would be removed, by distinguishing between the acts of princes and politicians, and those of the heads and ministers of religion.

To state with candour, and to delineate with faithfulness, some of the leading features of Catholic history, and all the great doctrines of the

* "We are never to confound the weakness of the minister with the holiness of his ministry. We respect the sanctuary in which Stephen officiated,—though Nicholas profaned it: we revere the place from whence Judas fell,—and to which Matthias was promoted: the Scriptures respect the chair of Moses,—though they censure several pontiffs who sat in it; and no Catholic canonizes the vices of popes,—though he respects their station and dignity. The pontifical throne is still the same, whether it be filled by a cruel Alexander VI. or a benevolent Ganganelli." See the Rev. Arthur O'Leary's *Remarks on Mr. Wesley's Letter and Defence of the Protestant Association*, p. 39.

Catholic faith, uninfluenced by the zeal of a partisan, or the disingenuous arts of an apologist, is the chief, if not the sole, duty incumbent on the author of this work. If in the discharge of this duty, it should appear that a great majority of our fellow Christians have been, and still are, misunderstood in regard to their tenets, and misrepresented in their history; and that from these mistakes, to give them no harsher a term, have been generated and fostered a spirit and conduct on the part of Protestants, unworthy of their principles, and impolitic and unjust in the results, a most important point will be attained, and a desirable object accomplished: for the liberal genius of the Protestant doctrines is most assuredly hostile to all acts of oppression, and all sentiments manifestly unjust.

Prejudice, the source of a thousand evils, would be much lessened against our Catholic brethren, were Protestants carefully to abstain from using terms of reproach and invidious epithets. The very name, though erroneous, by which we first designate a real or supposed enemy, so strongly prepossesses the mind, that no subsequent facts can erase the impression, as long as the first error is persisted in. On this account, a spirit of conciliation will always suggest the propriety of even making some concessions on the side of charity; and will infallibly lead to the use of such terms as the adverse party cannot properly object to; at least, such

a mode of expression will be adopted as is not in its obvious tendency degrading and offensive; and all irritating associations will be carefully avoided.

The first acknowledged generic term given to the followers of Christ, after the one applied to them at Antioch,* seems to be that of *Catholic*. It was used to distinguish the true Church, or Society, of Jesus from all separate Societies, such as the Donatists in Africa, and other schismatics. It is argued by Protestants, that, strictly speaking, this term was never appropriate; seeing that in no age of the church, after the death of its founder, have Christians been uniform in their belief; or universal as a body. The history of heretics, particularly of those of the two first centuries, furnishes abundance of evidence against the catholicity of any particular church; though it must be confessed, that the number of ancient heretics has been, in general, improperly stated. Epiphanius counts sixty, after the death of Christ to his own time, the close of the fourth century; and Philastre gives at least one hundred and twenty-two, after the Saviour's mission; but it should not be overlooked, that many of these supposed heresies were some trifling and often absurd notion, not at all affecting the doctrines of the church. The learned Dr. Lardner†

* Acts, c. xi. ver. 26.

† History of Heretics, p. 17.

states, that "most heresies of the two first centuries may be reduced to two kinds." In this conclusion he is partly supported by the early authority of Theodoret,

Chillingworth, the great champion of Protestantism, says, that the meaning of the phrase, *Holy Catholic Church* in the Apostles' Creed, is "the right the church of Christ, or rather, to speak properly, the *Gospel of Christ*, hath to be universally believed. And, therefore, the article may be true, though there were no Catholic Church in the world."* This capacious mode of explication seems much more convenient than true: how the holy catholic church could be believed in, were there "no catholic church in the world," I must own, with all my respect for Chillingworth, somewhat puzzles and perplexes me.

It is, however, this appellation, as united with the adjunct *Roman*, that demands immediate consideration. I will not fatigue the reader's patience and my own by wading through the elaborate squabbles of ecclesiastics, about the fact of St. Peter's residence at Rome.† The

* Works, folio, p. 196.

† The curious in this matter may consult the *Art. Church of Rome*, in Broughton's Historical Library, vol. i. Also *Christianisimus Primativus*, b. II. ch. i. p. 12. Dr. Benson's Account

great probability, at least as far as it appears to me, is, that the apostle did visit that city ; and that he was a teacher of Christianity there at the time of his death, during the persecution of the Christians by Nero.

However this may have been, it is a fact, that a pretty regular succession of Roman Bishops may be traced from Alexander I. at the close of the first, or early in the second, century, to Sabinianus, in the beginning of the seventh ; from which time the succession is considered somewhat doubtful for several ages. I am prevented from beginning earlier by my determination to avoid controversy as much as possible ; and having compared several catalogues, I find some difference with respect to the first six or seven Bishops, and a little confusion, occasioned in the succession, owing to the discrepancy of opinion relative to the names of Cletus and Anacletus : some contending that these were one and the same Bishop. Perhaps, the most ample list of Popes ever published is the one lately given by an intelligent writer in the Rev. Robert Adam's very candid and liberal publication, en-

Account of St. Peter's visit to Rome, A. D. 58, and fourth of Nero, in his Hist. of the first planting of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 184. Whiston's Memoirs, Bp. Pearson's Posthumous Works, London, 1688, p. 27 et seq. and Baratier's Inquiry about the Ancient Bishops of Rome, printed at Utrecht, in 1740.

titled "The Religious World Displayed."* This Catalogue is confessedly taken, for the most part, from Berti's Ecclesiastical History. It commences with St. Peter, and ends with the present much injured Pius VII., including a succession of 252 Roman Bishops, exclusive of the Antipopes, Dioscorus, in the sixth century; Constantine, in the eighth; Anastasius, in the ninth; Leo VIII., and Boniface VII., in the tenth; and John XVI., Benedict X., Honorius II. and Clement III., in the eleventh century. The succession of Roman Pontiffs is of more consequence to the interests of religious truth than some Protestant writers have been willing to admit. I confess, for my own part, that could I be convinced of the perfect accuracy of any one of the catalogues that have been hitherto published, I should feel myself somewhat embarrassed in disputing the ecclesiastical authority and superiority of the supreme head of the Catholic Church; not that I should ever admit, that any man, or set of men, has a right by any prescription of mere time, to trample on the sa-

* This work is incomparably the best book of the kind ever published. Mr. Evans's is professedly a "*Sketch*," but, as far as it goes, it is, upon the whole, correct and candid. The *View of all Religions*, by Hannah Adams, is good, and, generally speaking, just; but there is too much attempted on so small a scale. The English edition, by Mr. Fuller, is certainly the best, though some will think he has not improved it by his "*Essay on Truth*."

cred exercise of reason, or the unalienable rights of conscience; but how *episcopalians* can satisfy their consciences on this subject, has often puzzled and surprised me. If visibility and episcopal ordination are, indeed, essential to the character of the church of Christ, it would seem to follow, that a regular uninterrupted succession of christian Prelates from the Apostles is a matter of vital importance. As a Dissenter, I I have no uneasiness on this point: as a Churchman I should tremble for the validity of my sacred office.*

I will not, however, enter into any controversy on the divine right of Episcopacy, in the issue of which question I have so trifling an interest; and upon which it is my firm conviction the holy scriptures are completely silent. Let canonists and schoolmen, civilians and proctors fight the matter out as well as they are able, and dogmatize about non-essentials till they are all weary of the useless contest, and sit down

* "Our Lord himselfe telleth us, that he that is baptized, and beleeveth, shall be saved: now to persuade such a one that is baptized, and beleeveth, that he is no member of Christ's church, except he can also set downe a catalogue of the names of his spirituall parents, since Christ, is al one, as to perswade such a one that he is no man, because he cannot reckon up his naturell parents, and fetch his pedigree from Noah or Adam." *Christianographie, or the Description of the multitude and sundry sorts of Christians in the World, not subject to the Pope*, 2nd. Ed. 1636. *Epistle Dedicatorie*.

contented to fear God and work righteousness; it is quite sufficient to my purpose to shew, that, whatever variations of discipline may at different times have obtained in the Church, long, very long, before the humble religion of Jesus came to be established by human laws, or were incorporated with state politics, the great articles of Faith, with but few exceptions, held to the present hour by Roman Catholics, were the standards of public doctrine, and the almost universally acknowledged dogmas of the whole Christian world; and as the chief head or Bishop of the Church holding those doctrines had his seat and spiritual court at the city of Rome, that great society of Christians became at length designated by the appellation of *Roman Catholics*, at first used merely to distinguish the Latin and Greek Churches. It concerns me not to shew, that these doctrines are true or false: what they were, they still are; and so far the Catholics of the present day have a legitimate claim to the appellation they have adopted.

It never had occurred to any of their opponents before the time of Luther, that the reproachful term *Papist*, was properly applicable to the members of the Church of Rome. This word, it is true, is no otherwise improper than as it is meant to convey an offensive idea. It is derived from *πάτερ*, *father*, and was given to the Catholics, to insinuate that they look upon the

Pope as their infallible, as well as supreme, head and governor: equal, if not superior, to the primitive apostles of Christ, the Saviour: a calumny as false as it is foolish.

It only remains in this section to state how the Catholics are at present recognized in the public acts of this Empire.

When the early Reformers had, with a pertinacity unbecoming their extraordinary pretensions to purity of doctrine and spirituality of character, succeeded in fixing on their old friends the nickname of *Papists*,* and the faith they had deserted that of *Popery*, the prejudice these terms were intended to inspire, found its way from the pen of the zealot and the lips of the declaimer to the solemn acts of nations and the edicts of the reformed princes. The liberal and enlightened spirit of modern times has dictated a wiser course; and the term *Roman Catholics* is that by which those formerly called Papists are now designated in all the great statutes of this country. A writer of the present day observes, that the Legislature has curiously varied in this particular. From the time of the introduction of the Protestant creed into Ireland, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to that of

* See the Rev. Dr. Milner's *Letters to a Prebendary*, 4th ed. p. 3. 8vo.

William III., the appellation used in the statutes appears to have been "persons in communion with the Church of Rome." In the commencement of the reign of William III. in 1692, the Catholics were expelled from the Irish Parliament. A hostile phraseology then appeared: "Papists," "Popish People," &c. are to be found in all statutes, affecting the Catholics, from the 2 William III. to the 32 George III. inclusive, and even later. The 33 George III. at length styles them "Papists, or persons professing the Popish or *Roman Catholic* Religion." However, the latest statute, relating to the Roman Catholics, 43 George III. chap. 30, drops the harsher names; and, by its title, denominates them "Roman Catholics." This may, therefore, be taken to be their *legal* description at this day. The reproachful epithets of "Papist," "Romanist," "Popish," "Romish," &c. are no longer applied to them by any gentleman or scholar.*

The cruel riots, under the direction of the insane and furious Lord George Gordon, president of the intolerant and disgraceful Protestant Association in 1780, raised the cry of "No Popery," which, to adopt the words of the present learned and liberal Dr. Butler, of Shrewsbury, "is still a fertile theme of declamation to

* See Advertisement prefixed to "A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland."

the old women and children of the year 1811.”* This term *Papist* is reproachful, conveys an erroneous idea, keeps alive a dishonourable prejudice, and ought to be abolished; nor will I ever believe that man sincerely friendly to Christian liberty who persists in the use of it.

Many of the latest and most respectable Protestant writers against Roman Catholicism that I have met with, seem to be conscious that there is something not quite charitable in the use of this term *Papist*; hence they either lay it aside altogether or apologize for retaining it. “I use the term *Papist* or *Romanist*,” says the present Bishop of Durham,† “not as a reproach, but in assertion of our own right.” “The terms ‘Popery, *Papist* and *Romanist*’ are used,” says Mr. Stephenson,‡ “solely to avoid the repetition of that of *Catholic*.” This being the case, the author would have been rather more consistent, had he adopted the word *Catholic* instead of *Romish** in his title page.

* See this gentleman’s most excellent Sermon preached at St. Mary’s, Cambridge, at the Installation of the present Chancellor, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, January 30th, 1811, p. 61. (Notes). The Church of England would have nothing to fear, either from Catholics or Sectarists, were all her Ministers equal in learning and candour to this writer.

† Sermons, Charges and Tracts, p. 352.

‡ “*The Romish Church*; or, an Historical and Critical View of some of the leading doctrines of the Church of Rome,” p. 10, (Note).

“I thought

SECTION II.

The Pope's Supremacy—Conversion of Constantine—Temporal power of the Pope—The Decretals—Gift of Constantine.

IT is of great importance to be well acquainted with the meaning and application of terms; let us then pursue this idea by an inquiry into the first use of the word *Pope*, and of the phrase *Universal Bishop*. In the earliest ages of Christianity, this word *Pope*, which has been so long, and often so unjustly, associated with the idea of whatever is depraved in morals, or cruel in government, was given to every bishop, or pastor, presiding over a diocese or district;* and it is still applied in the east to all Christian Priests. I am perfectly aware that, even among Catholics, much acrimonious controversy has arisen out of the question concerning the authority of Bishops. In this controversy, I am no farther concerned than as a medium for the conveyance of what, upon a sober and impartial investigation, appears to be the prevailing sentiment of the church.

“ I thought this outlandish term (Romish Church) was no longer used in England, at least on any solemn occasion; perhaps, we shall soon hear of the *Greekish Church*, unless the Emperor Alexander will break off his alliance with Napoleon.” Vide The Introduction prefixed to the Protestants’ Apology for the Roman Catholic Faith, p. 73. 1809.

* Bingham’s *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, lib. i. c. 2.

About the close of the third century, St. Cyprian, a prelate of the Latin church, declared that no bishop was superior to his brethren, since none of them established himself the bishop of bishops, nor reduced his equals to obey him by any tyrannical power, since every one had an absolute liberty of his will, and entire power; and as no one could be judged by another, so neither could he judge. On this, the Abbé Fleury remarks, that this is true, where there is no decision of the church.* St. Jerome, no very long time afterwards, writes thus:—“Wheresoever there is a bishop, be it at Rome, at Eugubrium; at Constantinople, or at Rhegium; at Alexandria, or at Tanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood: the power of wealth and the lowliness of poverty renders not a bishop more high or low: for all of them are successors of the apostles.”† “A Christian diocese,” says Mr. Gibbon, if I may be allowed to adduce his authority, “might be spread over a province, or reduced to a village; but all the bishops possessed an equal and indelible character: they all derived the same powers and privileges from the apostles, from the people, and from the laws.”‡ The canons of Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Cæ-

* Eccles. Hist. l. vii. c. 29.

† Jerom. in Ep. Evangel. 101. nov. ed. tom. v. p. 802, apud Geddes's Modest Apology, p. 81, 82.

‡ Decline and Fall, v. iii. p. 32. 8vo. ed.

sarea, passed about A. D. 240, after the Goths had ravaged Asia, in the reign of Galerius, are contained in a circular letter sent to every bishop by Euphrosynus, whom Thaumaturgus styles his *Old Friend*. This letter begins by addressing every bishop as "Most Holy Pope."

Pope Pelagius II. A. D. 589, in a letter annulling the acts of the council of Constantinople, in which John the Patriarch took upon himself the title of *Universal Bishop*, condemned, as much too arrogant for any Christian Bishop, this unbecoming claim of superiority.* This opposition to John the Fraster is known to every one; but as some improper use seems at times to have been made of it, I will continue the subject a little further. Pelagius II. was succeeded in the Pontificate by the celebrated Gregory the Great, a person remarkable for his humility and his ardent piety, and rendered dear to Britons as the apostle of England.† The disputes about the title of universal bishop, in which this pope took so honourable a part, are detailed in every respectable writer on ecclesiastical history since that period, though much more has been made of the language of Gregory than the facts seem to warrant. "Do not you know," says he, in a letter to the Constan-

* Banck, de Tyrannide Papæ, c. 16, in l'Historie des Papes, in Vit. Pelag. II.

† Bede Eccles. Hist.

tinopolitan bishops, "that the bishops of this Apostolic See were called *Universal*, as a mark of honour offered to them by the venerable Council of Chalcedon; but none of them usurped that arrogant title, lest by attributing to himself alone the dignity of episcopacy, he might seem to deny the rights of all his brethren."* In this epistle, the pope thus expostulates with his brother prelate: "What wilt thou reply to Christ, the Head of the Universal Church, that thou goest about by the appellation of *Universal Bishop*, to make all his members subject to thee? Whom dost thou imitate in so perverse a name, but Lucifer, who sought to be singular, and raise himself above his fellow angels?" In thus opposing the claim of John the Fraster, he does not appear to have any private or sinister view to his own honour; for, in a letter which he addressed to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, who had complimented him with this obnoxious title, he says,† "I request you will not address me in that manner again, whereas, by giving to others more than they are entitled to, you are deprived of it yourselves. I do not wish to rise by words, but by good conduct. Nor do I consider as an honour, that, whereby, I know, my brethren lose their honour: for my honour is

* Lib. iv. Ep. 38.

† I am, in this instance, quoting his words as I find them translated in the Introduction to The Protestants' Apology p. 119.

the honour of the Universal Church. My honour is the firm vigour of my brethren; and, indeed, I am then truly honoured, when to every one of them their due honour is not denied. Now, if you call me *Universal Bishop*, you deny yourself to be that, of which you attribute to me the universality. God forbid such things should be thought of; away with phrases that puff up by vanity, and wound charity!" Agreeably with these sentiments, this great bishop, writing to Eusebius of Thessalonica, and other bishops, says, "If one bishop be universal, it remains, that you are not bishops:" and in a letter to Sabinius, his nuncio at Constantinople, he observes, that "as the government cannot defend us against the swords of our enemies, and as it has made us lose our properties for the protection of the state, it is most shameful, that they should endeavour to make us lose also our faith by consenting to this unjust title." On this passage, Fleury remarks, "St. Gregory considered this dispute as a question of faith, because, in fact, we are not allowed by faith to acknowledge but one only bishop, of whom the others would be only vicars."* In other parts of this pope's epistles, he exclaims, "Oh! my great lord, it is not for my own right or honour that I dispute: I speak unequivocally and boldly: whosoever shall call himself universal bishop, or desire to be so called, in the

* Hist. Eccles. liv. xxxv. § 39.

pride of his heart, is the forerunner of Antichrist."* And again, in his epistle to the Emperor, "the Universal Church," says he, "must go to ruin, whensoever he that is the Universal Bishop shall chance to fall."† "In his rival," says Gibbon,‡ speaking of Gregory I., "the patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of universal bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume; and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of bishop of Rome, primate of Italy, and apostle of the West." In this estimate of the Roman Pontiff's jurisdiction, this sweeping historian is somewhat inaccurate; and it is proper now to shew the use which some disputants have made of Gregory's humble and pious concessions. It is argued from hence, that before the age of Gregory, the Popes of Rome had no exclusive spiritual authority in the Church beyond the limits of their own diocese. Before we proceed to examine into this matter, it may be proper to take some notice of what the pope says in the epistle wherein he alludes to the council of Chalcedon, as having honoured the bishops of the Roman See with the title of *Universal*. "On ne trouve point dans les actes de ce Concile ce que dit le Pape S. Grégoire dans ses lettres, qu'il offrit au Pape

* Lib. vi. Ep. 30.

† Lib. iv. Ep. 32.

‡ Decline and Fall, vi. p. 167.

le titre d'*Evêque œcuménique* ou *universel*. Baronius croit que ce titre se trouvoit donné au Pape dans l'inscription de la lettre qui lui fut adressée par le Concile."* And, indeed, one is reduced to the alternative of believing, either that his holiness there refers his rival John to a fact which had no existence, which, however, is by no means likely, or of admitting the probable conjecture of Baronius, that this title was given to Gregory in the inscription of some letter addressed to him by the Chalcedonian Fathers.

With respect to the objections made to the supremacy of the Bishops of Rome from the language of St. Gregory in the epistles just quoted, it is my duty to state the explanations which Catholics have given of it; and on this point, perhaps, I cannot do better than quote what the learned Dr. Milner,† and the equally learned anonymous author of the Introduction to "The Protestants' Apology," have said relative to the Pope's supremacy.

Speaking of this papal attribute, Dr. Milner observes: "We find this superiority in the clearest and strongest terms, attributed to the Popes, during the first three centuries, by the illustrious fathers and writers who lived in them ;

* Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire Ecclesiastique, tome i. p. 317.

† Letters to a Prebendary, Lett. II.

particularly by St. Irenæus, who boasts of his having been instructed by St. Polycarp, the disciple of the apostles; by Tertullian, the most ancient Latin father whose works are extant; and by St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, the great light of the church in the third century. We find this prerogative claimed and exercised by pope Victor in the case of the churches of Asia Minor, which he threatened to excommunicate; whether on sufficient grounds or not, is foreign to the present question; likewise in the case of the Montanists, and several other heretics, whom the same pope actually did cut off from the communion of the church. Finally, not to multiply instances, we find this prerogative exercised in the case of several bishops, and other individuals in Gaul, in Spain, and in Africa, which were judged and decided upon at Rome by pope Stephen, during the period in question."

These arguments certainly go to prove, what I should think few sensible readers will feel in the least disposed to question: that, from a very early period of christianity, the bishops of Rome have held a peculiar authority over a large portion of the christian world; and that, whether from the dignity of their diocese, as including the metropolis of the Roman empire, or from whatever other cause, the Roman Pontiffs have always exercised a kind of supremacy in spiritual matters; and this will appear still more clearly when I have adduced the arguments employed by the anonymous

author already alluded to: "While St. Gregory," says he, "was anxious for the rights of his colleagues, he was not forgetful of his own. In the letter to John of Constantinople, he mentions St. Peter as the first member of the holy universal church, and speaks of his own appointment to the government of the church." Writing to the emperor Mauritius, by whom John was patronised, he says: "the management and primacy of the whole church had been given to St. Peter." Elsewhere he asserts, that "the apostolic see is the chief of all churches;" and with regard to the very church of Constantinople, he says, in a letter to John, bishop of Syracuse, that "no one doubts of its being subject to the see of Rome." In another letter to the same prelate, he writes thus: "As to his saying that he is subject to the apostolic see; if bishops be guilty of faults, I do not know of any bishop, who is not subject to it; but when nothing culpable requires its interference, they are all equal, according to the rule of humility." On this passage Fleury remarks thus: "These words of St. Gregory indicate, in a precise manner, the limits of the power of the head of the church. As long as bishops do their duty, he treats them as his equals: but he is the superior of all of them, when there is a question of correcting them."

I have quoted quite sufficient to shew, that the popes of Rome have early claimed, and it has been granted to them, a government and

supremacy over the rest of their brother bishops, in points of general discipline and order in the church : nor do I see why protestants should feel so extremely sore on this point : to my mind, it only proves, that the simplicity of the gospel of Christ was encroached upon in very early times, even earlier than most writers seem to allow. But that St. Peter had any superior rank or authority over the rest of the apostles, is not by any means clear. The Acts of the Apostles, the first, and the only correct, Ecclesiastical History, does not, according to my views, convey any such a notion ; and I feel very little concern about the Acts of any other Apostles besides those of whom we have clear and authentic accounts in the New Testament. It is to be feared, we all lay too much stress upon the *Fathers* : writers who agreed upon hardly a single point of doctrine or discipline ; and too little upon the sacred volume, which contains every thing necessary to be known or believed relative to our future happiness.

If Protestants cannot maintain their ground with Catholics, armed, like David against the giant of Gath with a sling and a stone, from the *Bible only*, they had better give up the contest : for it is hopeless to fight against the army of Councils, Synods, Fathers, and Schoolmen, which Catholics are able to bring into the field on these occasions. One little book, which I can carry in my bosom, and refer to in every

exigence of moment to my soul's peace, is worth all the mighty tomes of the Vatican;* superior, in my estimation, to all that bishops ever wrote, or canonists have quarrelled about. Which of the councils, from the first of Nice, to that of Trent, will point out in clear, unequivocal terms, "what we must do to be saved?" and of which of the *Fathers* shall we inquire "the way to the kingdom of heaven?" Alas! alas! they all deceive or confuse us; and we are compelled to recur to those records of immortality, which are alone infallible, to learn this simple truth, that "to enter into life, we must keep the commandments;" and that doing this, it boots little who is the visible head of the church; when, or how, he acquired his real or pretended supremacy; nor am I painfully anxious to know whether Gregory the Great or John the Fraster first lorded it over God's heritage; whether Pallavicini or Paolo Sarpi, give the truest history of the council of Trent—whether the lascivious and cruel Harry VIII. or the luxurious and careless

* "While we possess the Bible, which is every day becoming more free from faulty corruptions of the text, we need have no other guide: for *we know*, that erroneous doctrines had even crept into the religion of Christ during the days of the Apostles." MS. note, in the hand writing of the late excellent Duke of Grafton, on the margin of page v, of Simpson's *Apology for the Doctrine of the Trinity*; formerly his Grace's copy.—How seldom do *Dukes* concern themselves about the sacred text or the doctrines of the Gospel!

Leo X. was the head of the national church. Nevertheless, though these may be my private feelings on subjects so remotely connected with the pure and undefiled religion of the gospel, it is not less my duty to discuss these matters in treating of the great events of Ecclesiastical History.

However strongly Gregory might oppose the exorbitant ambition of John of Constantinople, that patriarch persisted in calling himself the *Universal Bishop*, though not, it would seem, in the sense in which he had been understood by the Roman Pontiff. In any sense the title was offensive, and the bishop of Rome did not fail to exert all his power, and to use every art to induce the eastern prelate to lay it aside. We have seen that this title was first claimed, or rather revived, (for some such appellation had been conferred on Leo I. in the years 445 and 450, by Valentinian III. emperor of the West, and Marcian of the East,*) during the pontificate of Pelagius II., and that his successor Gregory the Great strenuously opposed it. But the next pontiff, Boniface III. we are informed,

* History of Popery, vol. i. p. 1. Essay on Scripture Prophecy, p. 104. Carolus Sigonius de Occid. Imper. p. 106, 314, and the learned Annotator on Mosheim, says, that Leo and Justinian had conferred this title on the Bishops of Constantinople. See note s. vol. ii. p. 112. of his translation of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. 8vo. ed.

tried every measure in his power to have the title made over, by an inalienable right, to himself and his successors of the apostolic see of Rome. He used all his influence with the emperor Phocas to assist him in this struggle for mastery, or rather for the honour of a name; and he is said to have succeeded; yet it does not appear at present, that the bishops of Rome have any such title, further than as they are styled the Head of the Church, an appellation, which, in some sense, the patriarchs of Constantinople themselves at first granted to them. The contests, however, on this subject, at length grew so furious, that a foundation was laid in them for that great schism which afterwards divided the Greek and Latin churches.

The reader should observe, that this question has nothing to do, strictly speaking, with the title of Pope. Of the use of this word, no dispute arose till a much later period, when Gregory VII. A. D. 1076, transferred this title to himself only and his successors.* Nor should the reader fall into that common mistake, so

* Padre Paolo sopra Benef. Eccles. c. viii. and the other authorities referred to in Card's Historical Outlines of the Rise and Establishment of the Papal Power, p. 5. Without admitting all the reasoning of this latter writer, I cannot mention him without noticing the elegance and the majesty of his style, the great extent of his reading, and the general value of his various publications.

confusing and injurious to this subject, of confounding the *supremacy* of the bishop of Rome, an honour allowed to him by all Catholic writers,* with the *infallibility* of the Pope, an attribute never granted to him by the Church, though some persons, who would have written any other nonsense to gain the favour of the Roman Court, have ridiculously asserted it.

For the present I will dismiss this subject of the supremacy : we shall shortly have occasion to advert to it. As, however, it is so obviously connected with the origin of national ecclesiastical establishments, and the subsequent temporal authority of the Pope ; and as those establishments have a relation so near to the conversion of Constantine the Great, I will here glance at the accounts we have received of this great and important event in the history of the church and of the Roman Empire.

Either at noon, or at midnight—awake, or asleep—alone, or in the midst of his army—on a march, or during the heat of battle—in the

* Except, indeed, such accommodating and “modest” authors as the late Doctor Alexander Geddes ; who seemed almost inclined, as some have thought, to give up Transubstantiation, to please the Church of England ; the Trinity, to gratify the Unitarians ; and even, it is to be feared, the Scriptures themselves, to conciliate the Deists ; though candour should lead one to hope, that the Doctor was guided in these matters by the honest dictates of his mind.

south, or in the east, or in both at the same time—on his passage over the Alps, at Treves, Besançon, or some other place,* Constantine the Great saw, or thought he saw, a miraculous vision, which was followed by two very opposite consequences:—his conversion to a religion which forbids the shedding of blood, and the immediate destruction of a whole army. The task were endless and useless to trace this story and the evidences of it through the various channels and the perplexing ramifications by which it is attested, confirmed, amplified and confuted. The sacred oath of the Emperor to his doubting biographer, Eusebius†—the martyr and veteran Artemius,‡ whose apocryphal Acts are prudently rejected by Tillemont,§ and unnoticed by Du Pin; the flowery Lactantius,|| or as Mr. Gibbon conjectures, Cæcilius¶; the poet Prudentius, ** Baronius,††

* Vid. Tillemont des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 573.

† Euseb. in Vit. Const. l. i. c. 28.

‡ Act. S. Artem. apud Metaphor. 20 Octob. in Cressey's Church History of Brittany, p. 122.

§ Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 1317.

|| De Mortibus Persecut. c. xlv.

¶ Dec. and Fall, iii. 16. Mr. Gibbon is partly supported in this conjecture by Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 438,) and by the learned and rational Lardner (Cred. part II. vol. vii. p. 94.) In ascribing this declamation on the death of Persecutors to Cæcilius, the Roman Historian "tamely follows the Colbert MS."

** Prud. contra Symmach. l. i. 464, 482.

†† Au. Eccles. A. D. 312.

Philostorgius,* Gelasius of Cyzicus,† and a long train of others, both sacred and profane, historians, poets, and panegyrists narrate, in numerous forms, and with an amusing variety of incident and contradiction, the following fact :

After the death of his father, Constantius Chlorus, who expired at the imperial palace, in the city of York, A. D. 306, Constantine marched into Italy, against the cruel persecutor Maxentius, with an army of 40,000 men. During this march, he became extremely sensible of the danger of the expedition which most probably would decide the fate of the empire; and feeling some doubt as to the power of his troops, and more still, it would seem, as to the national deities whose promises had excited the hopes and disappointed the confidence of former emperors in similar exigencies, he turned his thoughts towards that Being in whom his father had more successfully trusted; and earnestly desired that some signal of the divine approbation should be afforded him. In the midst of these devout and fervent aspirations, there appeared to him, early in the afternoon, during a clear and open day, the figure of a luminous cross, immediately above or upon the body of the sun; and this was visible to his

* Eccles. Hist. apud M. l'Abbé Du Voisin's Dissertat. sur la Vision de Constantin.

† Act. Con. Nicen. l. i. c. 4.

whole army, or at least to that part of it then present with him. The cross had this inscription *teu rex: by this Conquer.**

It is needless to remark, that this miraculous appearance astonished and confounded every beholder; but it is curious to observe, that the Emperor himself had little or no conception of its import till the following night, when, during a dream, the amiable form of the Saviour of men presented itself before him, and exhibiting the same sign he had seen in the heavens, commanded the astonished Emperor to make a standard of the same shape; assuring him that under its banners his arms should prove victorious. This additional prodigy was, early in the morning, communicated to the Emperor's friends; and the combined efforts of jewellers and lapidaries soon produced the standard that should destroy the legions of paganism, and erect, on an imperishable foundation, the temples of true religion. *Labarum*, a name rendered mysterious by the obscurity of its etymology, but subsequently venerated for its triumphant efficacy, was given to it. It consisted of a long pike intersected by a transversal beam. A silken veil hung down from the beam, and was curiously inwrought with images of the

* Platina says, the emperor heard the Angels near the cross repeat these words. *Life of S. Sylvester.*

reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold which enclosed a mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the initial letters of the name of Christ.* The labarum was intrusted to the care of fifty soldiers, of tried courage, whose office was rewarded with distinguished honours and emoluments, and even their persons deemed invulnerable during the discharge of their duty.

Whatever truth or reality there may be in this event,† the destruction of the army of Maxentius, and the conversion of the imperial victor, speedily followed. Constantine became firmly seated on the throne, with no rival besides Licinius; and he also fell, shortly afterwards, before the invincible powers inspired by the labarum.

The gratitude and the interest of Constantine urged him to proceed in the labour he had previously commenced, of promoting the interests of the christian faith; and he laid the foundation of the church's greatness in gold and silver; in jewels, and treasures of every kind. The first of the christian emperors resolved to extend and perpetuate his fame by the legal establishment of

* Gibbon.

† The subject has been ably treated by Mr. Henley, in an Appendix to *Gregory's Hist. of the Christ. Church*, vol. i.

the new religion, and the abolition of paganism. Liberality of sentiment in the mind of the emperor sensibly contracted in proportion as his faith expanded. Whilst he halted between the rival religions, his scepticism on both hands came in aid of his philosophy and good nature; but when he found himself strong in the principles of the new faith, his zeal kindled against the idols of antiquity. On the ruins of the magnificent temples of paganism were erected innumerable churches, sacred to the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and all the Saints. If he did not wholly destroy, he mutilated and rendered useless, the most beautiful edifices. The Holy Sepulchre, which had been profaned by an image, or a temple, of Venus on its site, was cleared of its rubbish, and a stupendous christian church erected on the spot.* A temple

* "His mother Helena undertook a journey to the East, purposely to build the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem; where, as the workmen were digging to lay the foundation of it, they found the cross on which our Saviour was crucified. Helena sent part of this precious relique to her son, and left the remainder at Jerusalem." So far the story of "finding the cross" may be true and rational; but, adds the author whose authority I am now quoting, "the cross has so multiplied since, that if all the pieces of wood now said to have been part of it, and exposed as such in Roman Catholic countries, were to be put together, I may venture to say, it would afford fuel for all the inhabitants of this metropolis [Paris], during the severest winter. There is hardly a Romish chapel abroad, that does not boast of having a piece

dedicated with every rite of prostitution and uncleanness, to the same goddess, at Aphaca, on Mount Libanus; another, sacred to the honour of Æsculapius, at Ægæ, in Cilicia; and a third also devoted to the service and the rites of the mother of Cupid, at Heliopolis, in Syria, were totally demolished. The emperor, shortly after his conversion, caused all the heathen temples to be shut up in Constantinople, a city which he had himself built upon the ruins of the ancient Byzantium, and honoured with the name of New Rome. The vestibules and the roofs were destroyed, and the images of superstition re-

piece of the true cross. What abuses!"—*History of the Popes*, translated from the French, by John Mills, Esq. vol. i. p. 102.

This is a species of hyperbole not very creditable to the author's sincerity. The ancient and venerable ruins of Holy Cross, in Ireland, once an Abbey of the order of Cisteaux, in Burgundy, a branch of the benedictine order, was built "for the particular purpose of preserving a portion of the true cross, on which our Saviour suffered death." This "identical portion of the true cross" was preserved by the Ormond family in the reign of Henry VIII., and "by them transmitted to the family of Kavenagh," one of the descendants of which, deposited it with the present owner, a friend of the present Rev. Dr. Milner's, who remarks, "that it is the largest piece of the cross he ever met with, being about two inches and a half long, and about half an inch broad, but very thin. It is inserted in the lower shaft of an archiepiscopal cross, made of some curious wood, and enclosed in a gilt case."—Vide Dr. Milner's *Inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the Catholic Inhabitants and Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 128, 129.

moved from their sacred niches and pedestals to adorn the squares and the public places of the city. The Pythian Apollo, and the Sminthian, the divine tripods of Delphos, and the muses of Helicon, were exposed to the gazing contempt of the multitude, or preserved to ornament the Circus and the Palace.*

Whatever may be the partial feelings of the classic antiquary on a review of these innovations, the moralist and the rational christian will secretly rejoice at the abolition of so many abodes of vice, and nurseries of prostitution. This pleasure will be heightened by the consideration, that while the imperial convert directed his zeal against the vices of paganism, and the impurities of superstition, he protected, with a laudable justice, the persons and the private property of his subjects.† By a wise and a liberal policy, unhappily but little known or practised in later times, he subdued the prejudices, and secured the affections, of persons of all religions. This, at least, was his conduct in the earliest days of his conversion; nor did he in-

* Euseb. in Vit. Const.

† The following circumstance is mentioned by Socrates [l. i. c. 10.] It affords an interesting proof of the liberal spirit of the emperor: Acesius, a Novatian Bishop, having been commanded to give an account of his dissent from the church, the emperor heard patiently what he had to urge in his defence, and then said :—" Well, set up your ladder, Acesius, in your own way, and go to heaven upon it alone."

jure the persons, or infringe the rights of any of his pagan or christian subjects, till his zeal heightened into an exorbitant thirst to be instrumental in rendering the church he had espoused respected for her grandeur, magnificence, and riches. Here lies the root of the evil.—In this single principle were generated every calamity, all the wickedness, bloodshed, and tyranny that unbelievers have so wantonly and so unjustly thrown in the teeth of christianity. The religion of Christ is in its very essence simple and unassuming. It connects not itself with the kingdoms of this world.—It requires not the officious hands of an imperial Uzza to support it. To adopt the words of a late spirited writer of the Church of England, “it wants nothing but fair play. Human mixtures pollute it. Human aids disgrace it.”* But Constantine disfigured the lovely form of christianity, when he bedecked her in the gaudy trappings of worldly grandeur.† He himself became a preacher,‡ and the church gratefully acknowledged him as her temporal head. This unfortunate honour confirmed the evil which his officious piety had already introduced. The

* The Rev. D. Simpson's Key to the Prophecies, pref. p. xvi. Ed. 1809.

† “When kings interfere in matters of religion, they don't protect it, they enslave it.”—Fenelon's Letter to Charles, son of our James II., in Mr. Butler's interesting Life of that great and good man.

‡ Euseb. in Vit. Const. l. 4. c. 15, 32.

ministers of a religion, of which the greatest emperor in the world was the temporal head and protector, could not with decency any longer remain in obscurity or poverty; nor was it becoming, that those whose sacred duties led them daily to temples ornamented with whatever the refined taste of the ancients could suggest, with the richest treasures of the arts, and all that an elegant superstition could invent, should themselves appear before a courtly auditory dressed in plain and simple garments, respected for their virtues only, and loved but for their holy office' and good works' sake: other honours, and on other grounds, awaited them.

From this time, the superior rank of the Bishop of Rome in the Christian hierarchy was visible to all the Roman world. His right to it, the object of these pages does not require me to discuss: I shall content myself with presenting the reader with a succinct statement, put into my hands by Charles Butler, Esq. a well-known Roman Catholic gentleman, which professes to shew, that in point of fact, the Bishop of Rome has, in every age of Christianity, uninterruptedly enjoyed this splendid pre-eminence, with the universal consent of Christendom.

“THE first distinction among christians, is of those who believe, and those who disbelieve, the supremacy, in jurisdiction and rank, of the Pope. Leaving at present, out of considera-

tion, the point of his right to this supremacy, the following deduction seems to shew that; in point of fact, he has been in the actual possession and exercise of it, from the dawn of christianity to the present time. It is observable, that Mr. Gibbon* remarks, that ‘ till the great division of the Church, in consequence of the Greek schism, the Roman bishop had ever been considered by the orientalists, as the first of the five patriarchs.’

“ I.—A. D. 500. With the exception of the schismatics of the Greek church, the sects in the east, a few Waldenses in Lucerne, a few Hussites in Bohemia, and a few obscure Paulicians, the whole christian world, *at the beginning of the 16th century*, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. Luther himself in 1518, ‘ prostrated himself at the feet of his holiness, resigned himself to him, for his absolution or condemnation, and professed to receive his decision, as he should use the word of Jesus Christ himself.’† In 1519, he declares, that ‘ it never had been his design, either to attack the Pope or the Church of Rome; that the Church of Rome was superior over all; that, except Jesus Christ himself, there was nothing in heaven or earth that could be preferred to her.’‡

* Dec. and Fall, Vol. VI. p. 400.

† Ed. Jen. t. i. p. 58.

‡ I. i. 144.

“ II.—A. D. 1439. From this time, advancing upwards to the commencement of the christian era, the first event of importance on which we alight, is *the Council of Florence*. It was there defined, ‘ that full power was delegated to the bishop of Rome, in the person of St. Peter, to feed, regulate, and govern the universal church, as expressed in the general councils and the holy canons.’* ”

“ III.—A. D. 860. The object of the Council of Florence, was to re-unite the Greek and Latin Churches: this leads to *The Schism* which separated them. All persons conversant in ecclesiastical history know, that the schism had its origin in the deposition of St. Ignatius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the election of Photius in his place. Now, as soon as Photius was elected, he himself sent his four metropolitans to Rome, to inform the Pope of the deposition of St. Ignatius, and of his own election, and to solicit the Pope’s confirmation of his election. But if the Pope had not an acknowledged supremacy of jurisdiction, in the the general opinion of the Eastern empire, this deputation to Rome could have answered no purpose, and would never have been thought of. The Pope’s answer to it was expressed in the genuine style of admitted and undisputed

authority. He addressed a letter to all the faithful of the East; and, particularly addressing himself to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, ‘You,’ says his holiness, ‘in virtue of my apostolic authority, I order to think as I do, of the merits of the cause between Ignatius and Photius, and I enjoin you to have these letters read through your respective dioceses, that their contents may be made known to all.’ Thus, then, at the commencement of the schism, the supremacy of the Pope was as much acknowledged by the Greek, as it was by the Latin Church.

“ IV.—A. D. 750. If we continue our advances, the next period which engages our attention, is *the Translation of the Empire of the West to the Latins*, the important event which connects ancient and modern Rome. Turning from the part which the Popes took in the temporal causes and effects of that momentous event, their spiritual power was there most fully and unequivocally recognized. The political revolution which it occasioned, had necessarily a considerable degree of influence on the spiritual concerns of the church, and gave rise to much conscientious doubt. In that state of general scruple and uncertainty, the universal resort was to Rome. The French did not apply to their primate at Lyons, or to the bishop of the metropolis, the Germans to Vienna, the Hungarians to Strigonium, or the Bohe-

mians to Prague. They all applied for instruction to the bishop of Rome, and followed his instructions.

“ V.—A. D. 500. Advancing higher, we come to the time, *when the Faith was first preached to the Barbarians*. The preacher was generally sent by the see of Rome. If it happened, that the faith was not originally planted in a country by a particular mission, but was diffused there by the accidents of war or commerce, or by any other circumstance, it always followed, that as soon as the numbers of the faithful became considerable, and the church acquired a consistency, the see of Rome invested proper persons with powers to confirm her in her faith, to establish her hierarchy, and settle her discipline.

“ We are struck at the grandeur of Pagan Rome, when we read of her highways, which issuing from the forum, towards Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. Far beyond those, the successor of St. Peter sent from christian Rome the ministers of his divine commission to announce the faith to the nations of the earth.

“ Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
 “ Facta caput mundo, quid quid, non
 “ Possidet armis,
 “ Religione tenet.

“ St. Prosper.”

“ VI. A. D. 451, 401, 381.—Pursuing the inquiry, we come to the *Four first General Councils*. At that of Chalcedon, the fourth of them, held in 451, the fathers addressed St. Leo the Great ‘ as the archbishop of all the churches, as the head, as the person to whom the care of Christ’s vineyard was committed.’ They sent the proceedings of the council to him ‘ for his confirmation, *ἡ βεβαιωσις*.’ At the council of Ephesus, the 3d general council, held in 401, the fathers assembled, condemned Nestorius, and sent to the Pope, ‘ an account of their proceedings. They tell him, ‘ that they were forced ‘ to that melancholy step by the canons, and ‘ the letters of their holy father Celestine, the ‘ bishop of Rome.’ On receiving pope Celestine’s letter, they exclaimed,—‘ the sentence is just, ‘ the synod returns thanks to Celestine, the ‘ guardian of the faith.’ One of the legates, in his address to the council, says, ‘ that in every ‘ age, it had been known that St. Peter, to whom ‘ Celestine was in succession, was the prince and ‘ chief of the apostles, the pillar of faith, and ‘ the foundation of the church.’ Before the opening of the second general council, (which was held at Constantinople in 381), the Emperor Theodosius, and the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries of the eastern church, sent an embassy to Rome, to pope Damascus, with orders to take his directions on what should be done, and to follow them. In their condemnation of Macedonius, they used the Pope’s expressions.

A notion prevailing, that the council exceeded the limits of its authority, the Pope examined their proceedings, and, in some instances, confirmed, in others, annulled them. That the council might be attended by the prelates of the eastern church, the Pope summoned the fathers assembled at Constantinople to Rome. In their answer, 'they call themselves his members; 'they wish for the wings of a dove to fly to him, 'and repose in his bosom;' but they represent to him, 'that so long an absence might be dangerous to their churches.' In his reply, he compliments them 'on the respect they shew 'to the holy see; and informs them, that Timotheus, a disciple of Apolinaris, whom they 'had petitioned his holiness to depose from his 'see, had been deposed.' Now, except on account of his superior jurisdiction, they never could have made this application to his holiness. At the first of the general councils, (held at Nice in 325), St. Silvester presided by his legates.*

" VII. A. D. 300, 100.—This brings us to the 3d century. Public events, in some measure, forsaking us, in this place, we must refer to the writings of individuals, and of these, a very small number can be mentioned. In the third century, St. Cyprian† complains of certain

* This, at least, is the opinion of many, though, as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, this point is by no means clear.

† Ep. 3 ed. Bas. p. 14.

schismatic bishops of Africa, 'who sailed towards the chair of St. Peter, the principal church, from whom the unity of the church arises.' He calls the church of Rome 'the mother and roof of the catholic church.'* He says, 'there is but one God, one Christ, one church, and one chair, founded on St. Peter, by the word of God. No one can raise any altar or priesthood, besides that which is established: he that soweth elsewhere does but scatter and throw away.' In the second century, we have the celebrated declaration of St. Irenæus: '*Ad hanc enim ecclesiam Romanam, propter potiore principatitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.*' In the first century, a division arose in the church of Corinth. Some of the apostles were then living. To those, notwithstanding the exalted rank and high influence which their apostolic character gave them, the deposed priests did not appeal. Their appeal was made to St. Clement, the second pope in succession to St. Peter, and he confirmed their deposition. The letter addressed by him on this occasion to the Corinthians, is still extant. The modesty and humility with which he expresses himself in it are edifying; but he insists on the supremacy of the Roman see. 'The chief priest,' he says, 'has his privileges: the priests have their place; the deacons theirs;

* Ep. 3 ed. Bas. p. 135.

‘ the laity have their duties.’ In the language of the two first ages of christianity, the word ‘ priest’ was applied generally to bishops and priests : St. Clement, therefore, points at the chief priest as above them all.

“ VIII. Thus, from a regular chain of historical facts, beginning with the earliest moments of the reformation, and ascending upwards, through the council of Florence, the Greek schism, the translation of the modern empire to the Latins, the conversion of the barbarians, the four first general councils; and the primitive ages, (the six great epochs of the history of christianity), to the time of Christ himself, we find the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, both in rank and jurisdiction, an admitted article of christian belief.

“ IX. A. D. 32.—We now hear the Son of God himself say : ‘ Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church ; and the gate of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven ; and, whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.’ ”

Were it my duty or inclination to offer any remarks on the above summary view of the historical evidence for the Pope’s supremacy, I

trust, it would be no difficult task to shew, that in many instances, and particularly in what relates to the words of Jesus Christ to St. Peter, the reasoning and conclusions are by no means satisfactory. It is, however, the plain statement of an intelligent catholic, and as such I give it. Let those answer it who have a taste for, and an interest in, this kind of controversy. It is a matter purely belonging to the episcopalian:—catholics,—members of the Greek church,—church-of-England-men, and, perhaps, to the quiet and modest *Unitas Fratrum*; and, may we not further add, even to the newly-created Methodist episcopacy of America, now under the spiritual direction of the good bishop, Mr. Francis Asbury !*

We may now pass on to a review of the origin of the Pope's temporal power, a subject that ought always to be kept distinct from that of his spiritual jurisdiction.

The contradictory obscurity of the early annals of church history will readily furnish 'a sufficient apology for an apparent want of chronological arrangement in this professedly imperfect sketch; and I gladly avail myself of so reasonable an indulgence, whilst I endeavour

* See the Author's Portraiture of Methodism, Letters xxxvii. and xxxviii. O tempore ! O mores !

to inquire into the origin of the celebrated papal Decretals, and the supposed liberal Donation of Constantine to pope Sylvester of all Italy.

The Decretals are supposed to have almost immediately preceded what Mr. Butler* calls the middle period of the history of the canon law, which commences with the ninth century, at the beginning of which, or towards the end of the preceding one, this learned and judicious writer observes:—"the collection of Isidore Peccator, or Mercator, probably made its appearance (A. D. 760)."

Who the compiler of it was, and why he assumed the name of Peccator, or Mercator, are merely matters of conjecture. It sets out with describing the manner in which a council should be held; then the fifty-first of the canons of the apostles follow. "Deinde," says the author, "quarumdam epistolarum decreta virorum apostolicorum inseruimus, id est, Clementis, Anacleti, Evaristi, cæterorum apostolicorum, quas potuimus hac tenus reperire, epistolas usque ad Sylvestrem Papam."

The Decretals are papal epistles, forming the second part of the Canon Law. They were formerly appealed to in cases of difficult points

* *Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ*, p. 111.

of discipline, and church authority, but chiefly to support the high pretensions of the Popes to spiritual majesty over the faithful. The first of these celebrated forgeries is attributed by some to St. Clement, and is said to have been addressed to St. James, the brother of our Lord. According to Du Pin,* this epistle bears the greatest authority. The first part was translated by Rufinus, and Isidore added a second. It is not requisite to enumerate all the epistles attributed to the popes before Siricius, in the eighth or ninth century.† It is sufficient to glance at the arguments usually advanced by both Catholic and Protestant writers, to prove their spuriousness. Except the one I have just mentioned, they were all unknown to the earliest fathers of the church; nor were they ever cited in any controversial or other writing before the ninth century. It is justly recorded,‡ that no rational man can believe that such a number of epistles, written by the popes themselves, and contain-

* Eccles. Writ. &c. vol. i. p. 175. English ed. 1696.

† In the year 867, at the Council of Trois, the Gallic bishops submitted, as Fleury observes, to the novel right of false decretals, when they wrote a synodical letter to the Pope, requesting his Holiness not, in future, to permit any bishop to be deposed without the consent of the Holy See, "according," as they say, "to the decretals of the Popes." Vide *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, tome ii. p. 71. Paris, 1768.

‡ *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, tome ii. p. 173.

ing such a mass of evidence in favour of the dignity and authority of the church, could be wholly unknown to such writers as Eusebius, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, St. Basil, and other accurate and faithful historians and divines. And it is urged, as indubitable evidence of their non-existence, that even the popes themselves, to whom these letters are so very favourable, never cited them, nor were they once glanced at in any council, or in any canon, prior to the time already mentioned.

Hincmar, whom the Abbé Fleury* styles a *grand canoniste*, says, that the first person who collected and published them was one Riculphus; or rather he is said to have brought the book of epistles, which were collected by Isidore, out of Spain, and dispersed them in Germany. Fleury indirectly charges Hincmar with disingenuousness in regard to the decretals. His words are: “ Hincmar, tout grand canoniste qu’il étoit, ne put jamais démêler cette fausseté: il savoit bien que ces décrétales étoient inconnues aux siècles précédens, et c’est lui qui nous apprend quand elles commencèrent à paroître: mais il ne savoit pas assez de critique, pour y voir les preuves de supposition, toutes sensibles qu’elles sont; et lui-même allégue

* Discours sur l’Histoire Ecclesiastique, tome i. p. 173. 12mo. Paris, 1750.

ces décrétales quand elles lui sont favorables.”*
 This, indeed, was the practice with other writers ; as the papal letters were seldom mentioned, except when a paucity of argument rendered an appeal to authority absolutely necessary ; and in those cases but little attention has been paid to the genuineness of the sources whence such authorities have originated. The anonymous author of the *Histoire des Papes*,† says, that all the decretals down to Siricius are plainly forged, and that this has been demonstrated by many,‡ whose arguments F. Pagi§ has summed up with great judgment and perspicuity. Bellarmine,|| and a few other warm men of high notions, have made use of these decretals to answer the purposes of their arguments ; but there are few or no well written defences of them, if we except the author of the celebrated treatise, “ *Quis est Petrus,*” in whom, as Mr. Butler¶ observes,

* Troisième Dis.

† Vol. i. p. 26. Mills.

‡ De Merca, l. 3. de Concord. Sacerdotii et Imperii. Schelstraet, 2 part. Antiq. illustr. Dissert. 3, Blondel, Pseudo-Isidorus, et Turrianus vapulantes, and some others.

§ In Anacleto vitâ.

|| And even this Cardinal writes thus : “ At hæc testimonia nihil respondent nisi esse recentia et supposititia, at quamvis aliquos errores in eas irrepsisse non negaverim, nec indubitas esse affirmare audeam, certe tamen antiquissimas nihil esse dubito.” De Romani Pont. Eccles. Mon. l. ii. c. xiv.

¶ Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ, p. 212.

they have both a zealous and an able advocate: but he seems to concede, that so much spuriousness is proved on them, as to make them, when they stand alone, of no authority: nor do the Popes themselves appear to be over anxious to multiply opportunities of appealing to their authority. It is now almost universally acknowledged that they were forgeries of the 8th or 9th centuries, and no power is even pretended to be founded on them.*

The supposed Donation of Constantine stands upon the same authority as the Decretals. The learned Mr. Butler, calls it a fable.† It is, however, of somewhat later origin than the collection of Mercator;‡ and even were it

* They are often punned upon by Catholics, as the putrid wares of Mercator :—*Mercatoris putidas Merces*.

† *Revolutions of the Germanic Empire*, p. 8, new ed.

‡ The learned Du Pin has ably summed up the evidence against the authenticity of this bungling forgery. *Eccles. Writ.* ii. p. 17. et seq. Eng. ed. The Orlando Furioso of Ariosto, a poem deservedly honoured with the approbation of Leo X. describes this famous donation as a huge mountain in the moon, found among the useless things once belonging to the earth, and which had, at one time, a pleasant smell :

Di vari fiori ad un gran monte passa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte ;
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)
Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Orl. Fur. cant. 34. st. 80.

That famous convert, the Cardinal du Perron tells us, that he

ever of weight, the recent usurpations of the Emperor of the French have so completely destroyed its effects, that the Pope does not now possess an inch of ground in all Italy, and the donation itself is nearly forgotten. If the present Roman Catholics could, with any colour of argument shew that the Pope of Rome has still any power, civil or ecclesiastical, by virtue of the decretals or the donation of Constantine; or did they even pretend to support the power of the Church on any such grounds, then, indeed, there would be some reason for crying out against the usurpations and tyranny of popery, and a good argument would be adduced for using every lawful means to keep in subjection a power so enormous, and approaching so nearly to what would be the most dreadful of all general calamities,—universal domination. These facts would not have been alluded to, were it not that some persons, in writing against the Church of Rome, and hunting about for historical arguments to support the system of intolerance exercised by Protestants against their Catholic brethren, have thought it convenient to their purpose to

he one day discussed this matter of the donation with the Pope, who, laughing and shrugging his shoulders, as is customary with the Italians, when they would express a contemptuous sneer, exclaimed "*Che volete?* i Canonici lo legono!" What will ye have of it? or make what you please of it. The Canonists will have it so!

cast in the teeth of our present Catholics these ridiculous forgeries of some of their ambitious ancestors, who in this, as in many other instances, thought proper to promote their temporal interests by the sacrilegious use of a spiritual jurisdiction; contrary to the whole spirit and temper of their own church, whose prayers and religious services would have taught them, that the pure religion of Jesus Christ is incompatible with every species of fraud, and every inordinate thirst after the honour that cometh of man, and the love of riches, which is the root of evil. The morality of the Roman Catholic religion is the same, and to the full as strict, as the morality of any sect that has departed from her communion; and it allows not, either in the head or members of the Church, the slightest deviation from the known precepts of the gospel. From all which I infer, that the inventors of the decretals and the gift of Constantine, whether they were popes, kings, or private individuals, departed from the obligations of their own faith, and attempted to raise a superstructure of temporal power on a foundation untenable even on the grounds of their own religion; and that as these forgeries are now disowned by Catholics themselves, it is both cruel and unjust to adduce them as arguments against the freedom and rights of any class of Christians of the present day. Whereas, had they been fundamentals of Roman Church Government, a fear might naturally be excited, that should the Catholics ever

regain an ascendancy in our councils, these documents would be immediately resorted to, on which to rebuild a temporal and spiritual hierarchy, once more to tyrannize over the minds and the persons of the whole Christian world. It is of greater importance than would appear at first sight, that the real power of the Pope should be thoroughly understood. It is of importance to Protestants, that they may judge of the propriety of confiding power to their Catholic neighbours; and it is of consequence to Catholics, that they may be able to shew not only the justice of their claims, but the perfect compatibility of their religion, with the constitution and government of the country in which they reside, whether Catholic, or Protestant. For these reasons, I would gladly have pursued this inquiry to a much greater length than I feel myself at liberty to do on the limited scale to which I have confined myself. A very slight attention to ecclesiastical history, particularly to the history of the celebrated Fleury, will shew that the popes of Rome have in reality no exclusive jurisdiction but what has been either usurped in the dark ages, or voluntarily conceded to them in honour of their ancient see, and the dignity of the chair they are supposed to fill, as the immediate successors of St. Peter. This fact of the primary power of the bishops of Rome is one, certainly, of infinite importance to the Christian world; inasmuch as it is essential to the peace of Christendom, that

it should be clearly understood what extent of jurisdiction properly belongs to the spiritual Head of the whole Catholic Church, which forms too large a portion of the whole civilized world to be regarded with indifference or contempt.

With respect to the real origin of the Pope's temporal authority, and of the union of that authority with the spiritual power which the Roman pontiffs had always enjoyed, the reader of taste will be obliged by my quoting the words of the elegant and impartial biographer of Leo X., although in that account some slight repetition will be observed. "As the power of the emperors declined," says Mr. Roscoe, "that of the popes increased; and in the contests of the middle ages, during which the Huns, the Vandals, the Imperialists, and the Franks, were successively masters of Italy, a common veneration among these ferocious conquerors for the father of the faithful, and the head of the christian church, not only secured his safety, but enlarged his authority.* From

* The coining of money by the Roman pontiffs may be considered as a mark of sovereign and independent authority; but at what precise period they began to exercise this right, is not easily ascertained. Muratori, in his *Annali d'Italia*, vol. iv. p. 464, informs us, that the popes coined money, in gold, silver, and copper, from the time of Charlemagne (about the year 800), and that the city of Rome had enjoyed

the time of the emperor Constantine, various grants, endowments, and donations of extensive territories, are said to have been conferred by different princes on the bishops of Rome ; inso-much, that there is scarcely any part of Italy to which they have not at some period asserted a claim. That many of these grants are supposititious is generally acknowledged ; whilst the validity of others, which are admitted to have existed, frequently rests merely on the temporary right of some intruder, whose only title was his sword, and who, in many instances gave to the pontiff what he could no longer retain for himself. Under the colour, however, of these donations, the popes possessed themselves of different parts of Italy ; and among the rest, of

enjoyed that privilege *ab antiquo*. * Other writers have assigned an earlier date, which opinion they have founded on a coin of Zacharia, who filled the pontifical chair from the year 740 to 751—*v. Dissertaz. del Conte Giacono Acami dell'origine ed antichita della Zecca Pontificia, p. 8, Ed. Rom. 1752.* This subject has given rise to serious controversy, even among the firmest adherents to the church. Muratori and Fontanini have embraced different opinions, which they have endeavoured to support in several learned publications, in which the ancient rights of the emperors and the popes to various parts of Italy are particularly discussed. All collectors however agree in commencing their series from Adrian I., created pope in 782, from which time Acami has given a succession of thirty-four coins of different pontiffs, some of which are, however, supposed to have issued from the metropolitan sees of England, for the purpose of paying tribute to Rome.

the whole exarchate of Ravenna, extending along a considerable part of the Adriatic coast, to which they gave the name of Romania or Romagna. The subsequent dissensions between the popes and the emperors, the frequent schisms which occurred in the church, the unwarlike nature of the papal government, and above all, the impolitic transfer of the residence of the supreme pontiffs from Rome to Avignon, in the fourteenth century, combined to weaken the authority which the popes had in the course of so many ages acquired; and in particular the cities of Romagna, throwing off their dependence on the papal see, either formed for themselves peculiar and independent governments, or became subject to some successful adventurer, who acquired his superiority by force of arms. No longer able to maintain an actual authority, the Roman pontiffs endeavoured to reserve at least a paramount or confirmatory right; and as the sanction of the pope was not a matter of indifference to these subordinate sovereigns, he delegated to them his power on easy conditions, by investing them with the title of vicars of the church.* It was

* *Guicciardini Historia d'Italia. lib. iv.* The passage here referred to, in which the historian has traced with great ability the rise and vicissitudes of the temporal authority of the popes, is omitted in the general editions of his works, and even in that of Torrentino, *Flor. 1561, fol.* but may be found in those of Stoeck, 1636, 1645. *Genova.* Mr. Roscoe might

thus the family of Este obtained the dominion of Ferrara, which they had extended, in fact, to an independent principality. Thus the cities of Rimini and Cesena were held by the family of Malatesta; Faenza and Imola by the Manfredi; and many other cities of Italy became subject to petty sovereigns, who governed with despotic authority, and by their dissensions frequently rendered that fertile, but unhappy country, the theatre of contest, of rapine, and of blood.

From this period the temporal authority of the popes was chiefly confined to the districts entitled the patrimony of St. Peter, with some detached parts of Umbria, and the *Marca d'Ancona*. The claims of the church were not, however, suffered to remain dormant, whenever an opportunity of enforcing them occurred, and the recovery of its ancient possessions had long been considered as a duty indispensably incumbent on the supreme pontiff. But although for this purpose he scrupled not to avail himself of the arms, the alliances, and the treasures of the church, yet, when the enterprise proved successful, it generally happened, that the conquered territory only exchanged its former lord for some near kinsman of the reign-

might have added, that this passage, or, as it is there called, this *digression*, so offensive to the Roman Court, has been restored in the third edition of Fenton's translation of Guicciardini's History, lib. iv. p. 173—178. 1618.

ing pontiff, who during the life of his benefactor, endeavoured to secure and extend his authority by all the means in his power.

The Roman pontiffs have always possessed an advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the same person; two engines, which long experience had taught them to use with a dexterity equal to that, with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear. When schemes of ambition and aggrandizement were to be pursued, the pope, as a temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops, so as effectually to carry on an offensive war: but no sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, than he resorted for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called upon all Christendom to defend from violation the head of the holy church.*

Thus we have seen that the temporal power and property of the popes of Rome, stand on grounds as fair and legitimate as the property or dominions of any other princes. It would, perhaps, hardly be a proper investigation at this time of day, to inquire by what means any

* Roscoe's *Leo X.* vol. i. p. 8—14. 8vo. ed.

monarchy in Europe first acquired its powers and territories, for the *divine right* is now happily exploded. Such speculations would lead to an inquiry into the chimerical principles of agrarian law not entirely creditable to the memories of some of our ancestors. It is only necessary to observe, that the monarchs of Rome have as fair a title to their dominions as any other monarchs; and that the robberies and plunders, by Bonaparte, of the Pope's temporal possessions are as great and as unjust as any other of that tyrant's usurpations over the princes of the continent. Yet I am sorry to find that some persons seem to rejoice at the downfall of the Pope, as they call it; as if the plundering him of his property were an act of Christian obedience to the commands of the gospel, and a righteous fulfilment of scriptural prophecy. How any one can palliate an usurpation so flagrant, and a robbery so palpable, I am at a loss to discover; only that all is fair against the man who has "the mark of the beast in his forehead!" that we may make perfectly free with the possessions of antichrist, and walk off, like gentlemen, with the patrimony of St. Peter, just as our "most gracious and religious king and governor," the first Head of the true Church, Henry VIII., of reforming memory, did with the property of the clergy, the monks and the nuns of his enlightened days!

At the period when the Church became rich, commenced her pride, her insolence, and her

tyranny; the bishops of Rome, not contented with the *divine right* of primacy over the whole church, in what related merely to seeing that the canons which were enacted by general councils, to which they had ever been subject, were properly obeyed, began to extend their *right* to the consciences of Christians, the nomination of bishops,* and the making of laws, by an arbitrary issuing of bulls and anathemas, beyond the limits of their own diocese over the whole Christian world. The Church and the State became united, and the most extravagant notions of power and prerogative were, by degrees, usurped by the popes, or ignominiously granted by superstitious princes. The beneficence of Pepin and Charlemagne † is in every one's mind, and the writers against

* This subject of the right of nomination to vacant bishoprics, is amply treated in Mr. Butler's *Revolutions of the Germanic Empire*. It will claim our attention in a subsequent part of the present work.

† "The validity of these donations, and particularly those of Pepin, king of France, and of his son Charlemagne, is strongly insisted on by Ammirato, who attempts to shew, that the authority of the Popes extended far beyond the limits of Italy; but as he appears not to have distinguished between their temporal and their ecclesiastical power, little reliance is to be placed on his opinion. *Ammir. Discorso come la Chiesa Romana sia cresciuta ne' beni temporali. Opusc. v. ii. p. 67.* Those readers who are inclined to examine more particularly into this subject, may consult the *Fasciculus rerum Expetendarum & Fugiendarum*, tom. i. p. 124." Roscoe's *Life of Leo the Tenth*, (note) p. 11.

popery have swelled the ambitious demands of Pope Stephen, and the domineering spirit of Gregory, to a gigantic and terrific size. Every thing has been made to have issued from the avarice and pious frauds of the Popes, and little has been allowed for the gratitude or the weakness of the monarchs.

Yet the papal government, although founded on so singular a basis, and exercised with despotic authority, has been attended with some advantages peculiar to itself, and beneficial to its subjects. Whilst the choice of the sovereign, by the decision of a peculiar body of electors, on the one hand, preserves the people from those dissensions which frequently arise from the disputed right of hereditary claimants; on the other hand, it prevents those tumultuous debates which too frequently result from the violence of a popular election. By this system the dangers of a minority in the governor are avoided, and the sovereign assumes the command at a time of life, when it may be presumed that passion is subdued by reason, and experience matured into wisdom. The qualifications by which the pope is supposed to have merited the supreme authority, are also such as would be most likely to direct him in the best mode of exercising it. Humility, chastity, temperance, vigilance, and learning, are among the chief of these requisites; and although some of them have confessedly been too often dispensed with, yet few individuals have ascended

the pontifical throne without possessing more than a common share of intellectual endowments. Hence the Roman pontiffs have frequently displayed examples highly worthy of imitation, and have signalized themselves in an eminent degree, as patrons of science, of letters, and of art. Cultivating, as ecclesiastics, those studies which were prohibited or discouraged among the laity, they may in general be considered as superior to the age in which they have lived; and among the predecessors of Leo X. the philosopher may contemplate with approbation the eloquence and courage of Leo I., who preserved the city of Rome from the ravages of the barbarian Attila; the beneficence, candour, and pastoral attention of Gregory I., unjustly charged with being the adversary of liberal studies; the various acquirements of Silvester II., so extraordinary in the eyes of his contemporaries, as to cause him to be considered as a sorcerer; the industry, acuteness, and learning of Innocent III., of Gregory IX., of Innocent IV., and of Pius II.; and the munificence and love of literature so strikingly displayed in the character of Nicholas V.*

It is not necessary to trace the power of the popes any further in this place;† it will come

* Leo X. i. 15—17. The Rev. Dr. Milner has ably, but somewhat partially, summed up the virtues of the Popes, in his Second Letter to a Prebendary.

† There is a good account of the rise and decline of the Pope's temporal power in Mr. Butler's admirable Work on the Revolutions of the Germanic Empire.

under consideration *en passant*. In the eighth or ninth century, that power commenced, in the eighteenth, it was destroyed. It was granted in an age of superstition; it was taken away in one of military plunder, and political robbery: yet the Roman Catholic Religion remains the same, the primary power of the Pope as Head of the Church, the only power, in fact, independent of his lawful prerogatives as a temporal prince, to which he was ever properly entitled,* is still unimpaired in the mind and conscience of a pious Catholic; and the original doctrines of the church have remained unaltered, amidst the revolutions of ages, the depravity of the popes, the superstitions of the priesthood, the backslidings of the people, and the rancour of polemics. And it should not be overlooked, that it is a Portraiture of the Roman

* "The Pope can never grant any dispensation, to the injury of any third person, and can never allow any one to do what is unjust, or to say what he knows to be false, whatever advantage might be expected from it." *Encyclopedia Brit.* Ed. 1810. Art. Pope.

In acknowledging him as the *first pilot to steer the vessel*, says Mr. O'Leary, we acknowledge a compass by which he is to direct his course. He is to preserve the vessel, but never to expose it to shipwreck. Any deviation from the laws of God, the rights of nature, or the faith of our fathers, would be the fatal rock on which the pope himself would split. In a word, the pope is our pastor; he may feed, but cannot poison us: we acknowledge no power in him either to alter our faith, or to corrupt our morals.

Catholic *Religion*, rather than of the Roman Catholic *Court*, that I have undertaken to give.

SECTION III.

Council of Nice.—The Arian Controversy.

IT was my wish and intention at the close of the last section to have noticed some other great traits of Catholic history; to have given a short account of the Greek schism, and then to have pursued my narrative of the progress of Catholicism to the fall of the Western Empire: the limits, however, to which I have necessarily confined myself, will not admit a detail, however important, so extensive in its nature, and so multifarious in its objects. I must, therefore, content myself with a reference to many of these circumstances when I come to other parts of my history, with which it will be found those events have an intimate connexion. I shall now notice the celebrated Council of Nice, and give some little account of the Arian controversy, and of the part which the bishop of Rome appears to have taken in those proceedings.

Once more I am compelled to claim the candour of my readers, on the grounds of the uncertainty of ecclesiastical history at this early period of the church. Few writers are agreed

as to the period when the famous Council of Nice was called, and fewer still as to the real motives and absolute usefulness of many of its decisions. The great objects, however, of this general Council, were the following: the condemnation of Arius, the true time for the celebration of Easter, the suppression of the Meletian schism, and the proper rank and privileges of various bishoprics. Christian writers differ exceedingly concerning the number and the nature of the laws enacted; but, as the learned and judicious Mosheim remarks, while these good prelates were employing all their zeal and attention to correct the mistakes and errors of others, they were upon the point of falling into a very capital one themselves; for they had almost come to a resolution of imposing upon the clergy the yoke of perpetual celibacy, when Paphnutius put a stop to their proceedings, and warded off that unnatural law.* The most prominent feature of this Council is, that part of it which concerns what is called the Arian heresy. Three hundred and eighteen bishops,† besides a considerable num-

* Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. i. p. 416, who refers to Socrates. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. viii. compared with Franc. Baldwinus, in *Constant. Magn.* and George Colixtus, *De Conjugio Clericorum*, p. 170.

† Euseb. in Vit. Const. lib. iii. says, that there were at the Council of Nice more than 250 bishops; Eustathius says, about 270; St. Athanasius, in his Book of Decrees of the

ber of inferior clergy and other church officers, with the Roman emperor in their midst, voted into orthodoxy the curious and mysterious dogmas still known and read in all our churches, called the Nicene Creed. After several days spent in noisy clamour, indecent wrangling, and personal railing against each other, these venerable fathers, awed by the presence, and, perhaps, dazzled by the gaudy purple of the emperor, who prudently threw all their written libels against each other into the fire,* came to a resolution, that "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God, by miracles, and wonders, and signs which God did by him,"† was indeed "of *one substance* with the Father."‡ This hard and uncouth word, *homousion*, and

Council of Nice, says about 300; and in his letter to the Africans, states the number at 318. In this he is followed by several other writers. *Du Pin*, i. 251.

* Euseb. Hist. lib. cap. 8. p. 20.

† Acts ii. 22.

‡ "It is probable that in this, as in almost every other public transaction, every thing of consequence was previously settled by the principal actors, who were in the confidence of the Emperors."—*Priestley's History of the Church*, ii. p. 45. Was it quite decorous in this learned writer, thus to impeach the integrity of such a number of venerable ministers of religion, many of whom "bore in their bodies," as St. Paul expresses it of himself, "the marks of the Lord Jesus Christ?" i. e. some visible testimony that they had suffered persecution for the truth of the Gospel. Would the Doctor have so expressed himself had the friends of Arius triumphed in this Council?

its equally puzzling companion, *homoiouision*, have set the world in an uproar. The one simply means *of the same substance*, and the other *of the like substance*; a distinction important enough in itself, as far as the mere signification of a word extends, but never had a sufficient importance attached to it, *necessarily* to produce all that rancour and ill blood which it has excited in the breasts of fierce and contentious polemics. When Constantine the Great, at this same Council of Nice, asked the presiding bishop, Osius, which of these two words was right, he prudently replied, that they were both right. The rest of his brethren thought he was jesting with sacred things; some of them laughed; but others accused him of heresy. Thus have christian men, forgetting the peaceful injunctions of their Divine Master, in all ages, made one another "sinners for a word."* The *homoiouisions* triumphed, and Arius, with some of his followers, was banished, and his doctrine condemned. The practice of burning was not then thought needful or even lawful in the extirpation of heresy; for the laws relating to religion were as yet principally under the influence of Christian *Bishops*: Christian *Princes* invented the law of burning; hence the foiled Presbyter of Alexandria was soon after recalled, and his principal opponent

* Vide Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 183.

Athanasius, sent in his turn also into exile. Throughout the whole of this affair, which has been dignified with the appellation of the Arian Controversy, the *odium theologicum* had a most glorious exhibition. Both sides alternately triumphed, and were repulsed; persecuted and suffered, and both parties wrought miracles in confirmation of their contradictory faith.*

As Arius, on one occasion was about to be re-admitted to the fellowship of the church, he was suddenly seized in the street with a desire to be relieved from the presence of his friends for a few moments; a convenient place being pointed out to him, he retired, and shortly afterwards was found dead, of what the Greeks call *anepithoria*, in fact, a *prolapsus ani*. This was a signal triumph to the Athanasians, who did not fail to represent it in the most horrid and frightful terms imaginable; and, above all, to declare that nothing but the just judgment of Almighty God could have produced so timely a prevention of the re-establishment and future peace of this arch heretic; of him whose doctrine taught, that God the Father is the only supreme Jehovah, uncreated, and unbegotten, alone possessing inherent immortality, and the sole Dispenser of life to all other beings what-

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 9, 10. p. 478.

ever.* It is worthy of observation, that our views of the awful dispensations of Providence vary according to our opinions of the objects of the Deity's attention. A sudden afflictive circumstance happening to one of our own church is the gracious chastisement of a loving parent, or, if death ensue, our brother is mercifully snatched, as a brand out of the burning, from the cares and evils of a miserable and sinful world; but when these events come upon the opponents of our faith, or the seceders from our party, they are the awful judgments of a righteous Providence, and the fearful indications of eternal vengeance; so differently do the same objects appear, according to the rarity or the severity of the medium through which they are viewed! "After having considered this matter with the utmost care," says Dr. McClaine, "it appears to me extremely probable, that this unhappy man was a victim to the resentment of his enemies, and was destroyed by poison, or some such violent method. A blind and fanatical zeal for certain systems of faith, has in all ages produced such horrible acts of cruelty and injustice."† In this instance, as in some others, this learned doctor is rather illiberal.

* If I mistake not, Calvin somewhere describes Jehovah as the *Fountain of Deity*.

† See Note [y] in his Translation of Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. I. 418.

There is a material difference between infallibility and omnipotence: whatever the subtleties of argument might do in allowing to the church a tolerably fair and plausible reason for the first of these attributes, the natural superiority of the human mind, and the daily experience of every man, have hitherto prevented her from exposing her weakness by putting in a claim to all the power, as well as all the truth, in heaven and in earth;" and it is well for the church that she has been thus prevented; for however true and just may have been any of her decisions of Council, it is a fact that those decisions have seldom been promptly obeyed. This was particularly the case with the Nicene Council:—the Arian *heresy* was not suppressed, though condemned. The difference of practice in the time for celebrating Easter still continued. The rank and prerogatives of the various sees, and the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, though defined and ordered,* remained still a subject of dispute and dissension. Nor could the canons of the Council, though aided by the power and authority of the emperor, suppress, perhaps, not even impede, the spread of heresy. The enemies of the Catholic Church rallied and returned to the charge; till, at length, the emperor issued a solemn and fulminating rescript to the heretics, in which are specified the Nova-

* Fleury, l. ii. v. 20.

tians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, and Cataphrygians. It is remarkable that the Arians, who have cut so capital a figure in almost every subsequent list of apostates and heretics, are not included in this first royal Act of Uniformity. Was it that to deny the divinity and eternity of Jesus Christ was not in those days really thought to be so completely damnable, as some more modern divines have endeavoured to maintain? Or that the Creed attributed to St. Athanasius had not yet been invented, to declare the heart-appalling truth, that "without doubt he shall perish everlastingly who does not keep whole and undefiled" this most obvious and lucid proposition, that "the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal?" Sozomen informs us, that the reason why the Arian heretics were not included in the rescript of Constantine, was because they did not form a distinct sect, but were in union with the Catholic Church. The banishment and persecution of the principal Arian bishops shew, however, that this could not have been the reason: it is more likely that their numbers, their influence, and the antiquity and popularity of their faith, with, probably, a favourable bias in the mind of so enlightened an emperor, conspired to induce him to omit the mention of them in his letter of proscription.

It does not appear, in these proceedings

against the Arians, that the Bishop of Rome took any very important or active share, or that he was ready to interpose his influence in the suppression of so dangerous a heresy as it is represented to have been. The Council was called by the emperor solely, and the Roman Pontiff was not even present at the Assembly, but sent two priests, or proxies, to give his vote and sign the Acts; neither does it appear, that these priests enjoyed any superior rank or influence.* Who presided there is not known; but it is nevertheless a matter of considerable importance to my subject briefly to inquire into this fact. St. Athanasius in his second apology, calls Osius, the bishop of Cordova, in Spain, the Father and President of all Councils. The name of this bishop is first in all the subscriptions. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, was much esteemed, as is evident from the epistle of the Council; but both Proclus and Facundus assert, that Eustathius, who was first bishop of Beroëa, and afterwards of Antioch, was president of the Council. If Osius presided; as appears to be the prevailing opinion,†

* When all were seated, according to Eusebius, the bishop, *whose place was the first at the right hand of the Emperor*, rose and opened the business of the Council. Dr. Priestley conjectures, that Eusebius himself sat at the *right hand of the Emperor*. Hist. of the Christian Church, Vol. II. p. 42.

† Fleury, ii. v. 5.

it is a desirable fact to be ascertained, whether he presided in his own name, or in that of the Bishop of Rome. And it is observed by Du Pin,* that it is more probable that Osius presided there in his own name, and not in the Pope's : or, as Fleury remarks, he might represent the western church, or be there on the part of Constantine;† for, adds this writer, he no where assumes the title of Legate of the Holy See, and none of the ancients say that he presided in this Council in the Pope's name. Gelasius of Cyzicus, who was of the eastern church, and who first affirmed it, says it without any proof or authority. Whoever presided, there can be little doubt that the Emperor's presence had considerable influence over its decisions; and by his subsequent very active and independent conduct, it is evident that he considered himself a sort of supreme head and dictator in the church.‡ It should not, however, be overlooked, that, as some writers assert,§ before the Council finally broke up, which was at the end of about two months, they drew up a letter to Sylvester, bishop of Rome, requesting him to give his sanction to their proceedings; very

* Eccles. Writers, i. p. 251.

† Fleury, Eccles. Hist. ii. v. 5.

‡ In these pretensions Constantine was followed by his successors for several ages. See Dr. Wake's *Authority of Christian Princes*, &c. *passim*.

§ History of the Christian Church, by the Rev. Joseph Reeve, Vol. I. p. 163.

justly conceiving, that the personal approval of so revered and respectable a prelate as that of Rome, the old imperial capital, must have considerable weight with those bishops in different parts of the world who had not themselves attended. Yet if this was, indeed, the case, it would seem, that the two priests, Vitus and Vincent, whom it is said the Pope of Rome deputed to attend, had no authority to give any vote or to take any measures in his name: unless, indeed, it is true, what some Catholic writers assert, that Osius and the two priests acted in his name merely in his capacity of a common bishop, and that his final sanction was requisite, as the supreme Head of the Church, and universal Pastor over all Christendom.

This opinion was not, however, by any means unanimous among the bishops of that period. The twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which appears to have been held about a century after that of Nice, ordains as follows: "We, following in all respects the decrees of the fathers, and recognizing the canon of the one hundred and fifty bishops,* most beloved of God, which has now been read, decree and vote the same things concerning the privileges of the most holy church of Constantinople, which is New Rome: for the fathers, with good reason, granted certain privileges to

* The third canon of Constantinople.

the throne of Old Rome, on account of her being the imperial city; and the one hundred and fifty bishops, most beloved of God, acting with the same view, have given the like privileges to the most Holy Throne of New Rome: rightly judging, that the city which is the seat of empire and of a senate, and is equal to the old imperial Rome in other privileges, should be also honoured as she is in ecclesiastical concerns, as being the second and next after her; and that the metropolitans not only of the *Pontic, Asian, and Thracian* dioceses be ordained by the most holy Throne of Constantinople; but even the bishops of the said dioceses which lie among the barbarians; the metropolitans of the said dioceses ordaining bishops subject to them, and the Archbishop of Constantinople ordaining the said metropolitans, after the elections have been first made according to custom, and reported to him."

It is true, this canon, or more properly, this synodical act, has never been admitted by the canonists of the ancient Latin Church; hence it is omitted in the Latin code of *Dionysius Exiguus*; but it is found in the more ancient collection of *Justellus*, among the Constantinopolitan canons, which were decreed at a General Council, A. D. 381—382. It is a most important document, and ought not to be overlooked in an inquiry into the primitive jurisdiction of the see of Rome; especially as the sixth

of the Nicene Canons evidently conveys the same general idea, that the See of Rome had precedence of those of Alexandria and Antioch, solely as being the most ancient imperial metropolis.

SECTION IV.

View of the state of the Church, and the attempts at Reform previous to the time of Luther.

THE extraordinary power and growing ambition of the Roman court had so completely blinded the eyes and darkened the understanding of men, as to occasion, even as early as the eighth century, a melancholy falling away from the purity and simplicity of the Christian discipline. But this defection was not unnoticed by the wise and discerning portion of Christian writers. The calamities, which were evidently coming on the Church, roused the zeal and excited the pious sorrows of many. "Who will grant me," exclaimed St. Bernard, in the 12th century, "to see before I die the Church of God, such as she was in primitive times?"* "Through his whole life," as Bossuet informs us, "did this eminent saint bemoan the grievances of the Church. He never ceased giving notice of them to the people, the clergy, the bishops,

* History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches, i. 2.

and popes themselves. Nor did he conceal his sentiments on this head from his own religious, who partook of his affliction in their solitude, and so much the more gratefully extolled the divine goodness, which had prompted them to it, as the world was more generally corrupted."

In the Council of Vienne, in Dauphiny, held during the pontificate of Clement V., A. D. 1311, an attempt was made, through the resolute zeal, or vindictive courage, of Philip the Fair, to reform the morals and discipline of the Church. The protection which this French monarch gave to the person of William de Nogaret, the infuriate and implacable enemy of Boniface VIII., is well known; and the stand which he made against the usurpations of the papal power is creditable to his independence and his courage. Perhaps, his enmity towards the Knights Templars was greater than his abhorrence of the immorality of the clergy; but he so contrived it, that even the obsequious Pope himself "laid it down for a ground-work to the Holy Assembly at Vienne, that they ought to reform the Church in her Head and Members." This mode of expression soon became extremely common; and every writer of credit and character protested, though, alas! in vain, against the depravity, the pride, and extravagance of the Church; and the immorality and laxity of many of her children. Even Peter d'Ailly, the redoubted champion of the Pope

and well known opponent of Huss, at the Council of Constance, did not omit to forewarn the Church of the dangers that threatened her if she did not reform herself. The more amiable and excellent Charlier, or, as he is generally called, Gerson, exerted his great talents and excellent qualities to save the Church from the impending storm. At the Council of Pisa, A. D. 1409, it was declared by some of the members, that the universal Church absolutely required a reform both in regard to her chief and her whole discipline. Mosheim remarks, that the most eminent writers of the time unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the Christian Church was reduced by the corruption of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpose, by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation. The vices that reigned among the Roman pontiffs, and, indeed, among all the ecclesiastical order, were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear at all exaggerated, or their apprehensions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the sharpness of their censures, and of their complaints. Nay, the more eminent rulers of the Church, who lived in a luxurious indolence, and the impious practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear, with a placid countenance, and even to commend these bold censors, who de-

claimed against the degeneracy of the Church, and declared that there was almost nothing sound, either in its visible head, or in its members; and demanded the aid of the secular arm, and the destroying sword, to lop off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed, with the greatest freedom and fervour, against the court of Rome, its lordly pontiff, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.*

This deplorable state of things commenced with the Church's temporal greatness. Every century, and every year, discovered some new source of complaint,—some fresh departure from the purity of christian morality, or the relaxation of some point of Christian discipline. The fifth general council of Vienne, already mentioned, appears to have been the first venerable assembly of the kind that condescended to remark upon and censure a falling off so foul and dangerous: yet nothing was done in that Council to any purpose. The Holy Prelates, with the Pope at their head, seemed to think they had done quite sufficient when they had abolish-

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. iii. 400.

ed the military order of Knights Templars, and suppressed the ridiculous heresy of the Brethren of the Free Spirit. As to the Knights Templars, there cannot be a doubt but that their crimes were magnified beyond all truth, and even all probability. They were not suffered to be heard in their own defence, while the most unbounded censures were passed upon them by those who, having themselves never been initiated, could know nothing, with certainty, either of their principles or their practices.*

Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari, who, upon the demise of Gregory XI., was elected Pope, and assumed the title of Urban VI., exerted his zeal against the vices and luxury of the Cardinals, and laboured to bring about a reform in regard to general discipline. His zeal, however laudable in itself, was not altogether guided by knowledge and prudence; and his severity, which often rose to great cruelty, gave the enraged cardinals a pretext to throw the whole Church into confusion. In the sequel they elected a new Pope, Cardinal Cevennes, who took the name of Clement VII. The Church had now two Popes, and the consequence was, as might naturally be expected, an increased laxity of discipline among the clergy, and of depravity in the people. The supremacy of the

* Feijoo's *Teatrico Critico* contains a masterly defence of the persecuted Order of Knights Templars.

successor of St. Peter was not denied by either of the factions into which the Church unhappily divided; but to decide which of the rival Pontiffs had a canonical and just title to the holy chair, caused the most unfortunate wars and schisms. The work of reformation was, therefore, retarded.

In 1394, the anti-pope Clement died suddenly at Avignon. His cardinal partisans elected the politic Peter de Luna, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII., and under his influence the schism continued during the space of thirty years. Urban VI. died a year or two before his rival, Clement, and was succeeded, though not immediately, by Boniface IX., a Pope who certainly advanced little the cause of reform, being too eager to aggrandize his own family* with the riches of the Church, to listen to any complaints or grievances. This latter pope was succeeded by Innocent VII., and he by Gregory XII., Alexander V., and John XXIII., during whose pontificate effectual measures were adopted, principally through the powerful influence of the faculty of the Sorbonne, from the University of Paris,† to heal the wounds of the

* Platina, in Vit. Boniface IX.

† "The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism, is stated by Peter du Puis in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the seventh volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus, P. xi. p. 110—184." *Gibbon*.

Church, which had been open during nearly half a century. The Parisian doctors, however, succeeded only in procuring a transient peace by the resignation or deposition of all the Popes,* and the election of Martin V. This great event was not followed by any immediate or effectual reform.

The eyes of all Europe were fixed on the Council of Constance, from an universal persuasion of the necessity of a reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the assembled Fathers deny that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to be effected, that little could be expected, and still less was done. The cardinals and dignified clergy, whose interest it was that the Church should remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation ; and observed, among other artful pretexts, that a work of such high moment and importance, could not be undertaken with any prospect of success until a new pontiff was elected. And, what was still more alarming, the new pontiff was no sooner raised to that

* For there were at this time, in fact, three popes: one at Rome, another at Avignon, and a third in Spain.

high dignity, than he employed his authority to elude and frustrate every effort that was made to set this salutary work on foot ; and made it appear most evidently, by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive purity.* Yet Martin V. has been, not unjustly, considered, upon the whole, an honest and excellent man.

Upwards of five years elapsed before any other effort of importance was made to produce a reformation so obviously necessary, and so ardently longed for by the wise and the good of every class.

In 1431, the Council of Basil, which was first summoned by Martin V. to meet at Pavia, renewed the question of reform. This subject, so galling to the feelings of the pontiff, was there warmly and stoutly canvassed ; but he did not live to witness the proceedings. He died suddenly on the 21st February of the same year. Eugenius IV. succeeded to the throne and the prejudices of his predecessor. Notwithstanding the strong opposition of Eugenius, a check was given to his power, and some slight instances of reform produced. Rather, however, than tamely submit to any encroachments on his real or supposed prerogatives and rights, he resolved, once

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. XV. Padre Paolo, Benef. p. 196.

more, to break the peace and harmony of the universal church. He hastily dissolved the council, and another schism ensued. France and Germany received the decrees of this council, though they were rejected by Italy; and A. D. 1438, the celebrated Pragmatic Sanction, which has been denominated the bulwark of the Gallican church, was published. This pact restored the Gallican elections to the chapters, the collations to the ordinaries, and abolished, with one stroke, the offensive Reservations. But more of this when we come to treat of the peculiar privileges of the Gallican church, and of the History of the Reformation in France.

The steadiness and consistency of Eugenius IV., or the determination and assumed independence of the Basilian fathers, produced another afflicting schism, which commenced with the election of Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, to the papal dignity. This Anti-Pope of the Basilians took the name of Felix V. He had previously lived in the most retired manner at the Priory of Ripaille, near the borders of the Lemman Lake. From this peaceful retreat he was, with real or pretended reluctance, dragged, to become the vicar of Christ on earth; and from this period a schism ensued, still more painful in its effects, and bitter in its operations, than the one just healed by the council of Constance. It was not now, as in the former instance, a simple quarrel between rival popes, but a dispute and

fierce contention of the two councils of Basil and Florence. Eugenius IV. was at the head of the Florentine assembly, and Felix V. gave authority to the decisions of the council of Basil. The cause of Eugenius was adopted by a large majority of the faithful, though a respectable number adhered to the Basilian faction. On this side were ranged many learned academies, together with the University of Paris, a community that has ever made a most important figure in the history of the church, and even in the civil affairs of the French nation.* This council, though it was not considered as dissolved, suspended its labours in the year 1443. The council of Florence directed its efforts to unite, once more, the Greek and Latin churches, and these efforts, principally through the influence of the Cardinal Bessarion, were attended with a temporary and partial success. The council ended in 1442, but the ungovernable Greeks shortly afterwards revolted against their own decisions,

* See the valuable *Chronicles of Froissart and Monstrelet, passim*. I will not let this opportunity escape me, of contributing my mite of acknowledgment to the spirited and useful exertions of the London booksellers, in republishing, as they have done, and are still doing, at an incredible expense, all the old and established *Chronicles* of our early writers and historians. Nor should the meed of praise be withheld from Mr. Johnes, for the great labour he has taken in giving to the world faithful translations of the most approved French *Chronicles*. In this feeble testimony, I shall be gratefully joined by every real friend to the literature of this country.

and the spiritual war broke out afresh, headed by Marcus Eugenius, the metropolitan of Ephesus, who had never yielded his assent to the decisions of the council of Florence. In this opposition he stood singly, all the rest of the Greek bishops acknowledging that the Latins had proved all the "five points"* of discussion. They were; 1st. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father. 2d. The addition of the word *Filioque*, inserted in the symbol. 3d. The state of departed souls before the general judgment. 4th. The use of leavened bread in the Eucharist; and, 5th. The primacy of the Roman See. Perhaps, this last point was considered, at least, by the Latins, of the greatest importance of all. Probably, it may be thought necessary to advert to the other four in another place.

Marcus, of Ephesus, as has just been observed, again raised the standard of revolt, and contrived to bring over several of the bishops to retract their signature and dissolve the union. In this new quarrel, the emperor does not appear to have taken part with the advocates for peace and union. He, however, appointed a public disputation, in which Marcus, of Ephesus,

* It is to be feared this is an unfortunate number in the arithmetic of theological disputants. We all know *The Five Points* so ably discussed among Protestants by the learned Whitby.

and Bartolomeo, of Florence, took the most active part. Both sides claimed the victory; nor did the death of the Ephesian metropolitan, which happened rather suddenly, put an end to the quarrel. Marcus, in his last moments, insisted that no one who had consented to the union should pray to God for him, or assist at his funeral.* This unnatural schism was never healed. In 1452, every thing was again thrown into disorder, and an open and perpetual separation took place. Before this time, Thomas de Sarzano, bishop of Bologna, had succeeded to the pontifical chair, and taken the name and title of Nicholas V. This prelate has ever ranked high in the estimation of good and wise men of all parties. Felix, the anti-pope, very prudently, or forced by the power of the Emperor Frederick, resigned his pretensions, and quietly returned to his favourite hermitage at Ripaille.

Amidst all these bickerings and this afflicting schism, the work of reformation gained little or no ground. The hearts of the reflecting and the pious sunk within them when they foresaw the evils which these endless animosities, and the consequent immorality and laxity of discipline, were bringing upon the Church. The disorders of the clergy had now grown to an enormous pitch; the German clergy, in parti-

* Reeve's History of the Church, iii. p. 28.

cular, are mentioned as notoriously disgraceful. This melancholy state of affairs is thus lamented by the excellent Cardinal Julian:—

“ These disorders excite the people’s hatred against the whole ecclesiastical order, and should they not be corrected, it is to be feared, lest the laity, like the Hussites, fall foul on the clergy, as they loudly threaten us.” If the clergy of Germany were not speedily reformed, he foretold, that to the heresy of Bohemia, though it were extinguished, another still more dangerous would succeed; “ for it will be said,” he proceeds, “ that the clergy are incorrigible, and will apply no remedy to their disorders.” “ When they shall find no hopes left of our amendment, then will they fall foul upon us. The minds of men are big with expectation of what measures will be taken, and they seem full ripe for something tragical. The rancour they have imbibed against us becomes manifest: they will soon think it an agreeable sacrifice to God to plunder and abuse ecclesiastics, as abandoned to extreme disorders, and hateful to God and man. The now but small remains of respect to the sacred order, will shortly be extinguished. The blame of all these abuses will be thrown on the Court of Rome, which will be reckoned the sole cause thereof,” because it neglected to apply the necessary remedy. This great cardinal afterwards speaks still more emphatically: “ I see the axe is at the root, the tree begins

to bend, and instead of propping it, whilst we may, we hasten on its fall." He foresees a speedy desolation in the German clergy. The desire of taking from them their temporal goods, was to be the first spring of motion: "Bodies and souls," says he, "will perish together. God hides from us the prospect of our dangers, as he is used to do with those he designs to punish: we see the fire enkindled before us, and yet run headlong into it."* Thus writes this faithful spiritual watchman to Pope Eugenius IV. How strikingly his prognostications and fears were realized, the Reformation, begun by Luther, early in the succeeding century, fully, and in many instances, painfully, demonstrated.

Besides the just fears of the discerning, on account of the danger to which the Church was daily exposing herself from the immorality of her clergy and people, a source of grief had long flowed from the ridicule and sneers of numerous licentious and satirical authors, who failed not to observe with severity on the conduct of the clergy. In the early part of the 14th century, the bold and daring Dante, described the Vicars of Christ as living in the infernal regions. Petrarca, no very long time afterwards, identified

* Ep. I. Julia. Card. ad Eug. IV. inter Op. Æn. Silv. pp. 66—76, as cited in Bossuet's Variations, &c. i. p. 2, 3.

the Court of Rome with that of ancient Babylon. The Decameron of Boccaccio, in spite even of the repentant author's own efforts to suppress it,* is to this day in every body's hands, and is preserved in every public library of Europe. It is full of raillery at the vices, or the weaknesses, of the clergy, and the disorders of the convents and the religious. While the sonnets of Petrarca, his tried friend, abound with virulence and reproach. In one of them, "he seems to have exhausted, on this theme, every epithet of reproach and abhorrence, which his native language could afford.† It is true these reproaches apply to the papal court of Avignon; but, alas! "the whole head was sick, and the whole heart was faint!" But what need I mention or allude to poets, or even divines, while such a man as Giovanni Francesco Pico, the nephew of Pico de Mirandula, has so powerfully pleaded the cause of reform, even to the face of one of the greatest popes that ever filled the papal chair. I will oblige the reader, and honour my work, by a translation of some of the passages of his celebrated oration, as delivered in the year 1517, at the Council of Lateran.‡ Speaking of the necessity of enacting many new laws: "I think it better," says he, "that the most holy decrees

* See Mrs. Dobson's entertaining Life of Petrarch. II. 298, *et seq.*

† Roscoe's Leo X. III. p. 197.

‡ The original forms No. CXLVI. in the Appendix to Mr. Roscoe's invaluable Life of Leo the Tenth.

of the ancient fathers, and their venerable institutions, should be kept by the principal men among us, and by the cardinals themselves, by whom the whole weight of the christian commonwealth ought to be supported. If this were done, he adds, the people would easily follow the prelates, as animated and living laws, and would be recalled to the rule of piety and true discipline." Further on, he thus addresses the pope:—"Great Pontiff! powerful exertions must be used, lest Christianity should sustain any detriment; for war is to be carried on with a numerous army; an intestine war, dangerous and calamitous; and which can be averted only by the severity and rigour of discipline. Restrain the luxury of every rank,—set bounds to ambition,—bridle the stubborn and unrestrained madness of impurity and lust,—prescribe restrictions to the suspicious familiarities of priests,—give limits to cupidity, to avarice, and to the accursed thirst after large possessions,—claim those gifts and donations of pious men, which, instead of being faithfully applied by the priests to whose care they have been entrusted, are rather devoured by them, and cause them to be disposed of agreeably to the wills of the donators, lest they be finally ingulphed in the whirlpool of all wickedness."

Alluding to that rage for simoniacal contracts, which, in every age of the church, has been a sure prognostic of approaching decay, he strongly recommends the punishment of those who

have concerned themselves in the sale of holy things; and advises, that those who have had no regard to the flock committed to their trust; but have indulged in every kind of vanity, delighting in superstitions, carousings, banquetings, and loose and familiar practices, shall be either wholly reformed or cut off from their sacred functions; seeing, as he justly remarks, they profane all things by their example, and corrupt by their depravity, even those who are well instructed and conscientious. He further refers the Council to John Chrysostom for the truth of his assertion, that from the depravity of the priesthood has proceeded the ruin of the people; and produces Jerome as asserting, that he never found any persons so well calculated to seduce the people as their priests. He then exhorts the Pope to use coercive measures, and to restrain the vices of the clergy without nicely consulting their own wills on the occasion: "You can," he exclaims, "supreme Pontiff, and there is none upon earth besides that can, do this; and whereas you can, you ought." The Pope is then reminded of the conduct of old Eli, and of the evils he sustained by neglecting to restrain the base appetites of his unruly sons: "for those," says he, "who command, should not only be innocent themselves, but have sufficient fortitude to restrain others."

This intrepid orator then goes on to paint in glowing colours the dreadful state of public

morals, particularly of the clergy, to whom he attributes every vice, natural and unnatural, which at any time has disgraced, and even *destroyed* human nature; and then he demands, with unparalleled boldness, whether Leo X. will put up with such abominations; and whether he will both see and suffer such horrid abuses and profanations; at the same time advising him strenuously to oppose himself to this torrent of corruption, and check at once the overflowing luxury, the growing ambition, and wanton dissipations that result from extensive simony and profane traffic.

In such strains of invective, of expostulation and warning, did this eminent man labour to ward off the storm which every wise man plainly saw was gathering thick above them. The patient pontiff listened to and approved, but unhappily disregarded, the wholesome counsel; till the storm burst, and overwhelming, in one sweeping deluge, some of the best portions of Christendom, let loose upon all the ancient and venerable establishments of religion a host of unruly and daring spirits, whose zeal could not wait coolly to calculate upon consequences, nor to discriminate between a depraved discipline and a sacred rite,—between what they themselves but a short time before had deemed the undoubted truths of the Gospel, and the obvious innovations of corrupt and ambitious men. And yet some have thought, and per-

haps justly, that the early Reformers did but half finish the work they so successfully begun.

Of the immediate causes that led to the Saxon and German Reformation, I will treat hereafter : at present it is proper to remark, that not any of the writers I have alluded to, not even the most profligate and satirical, seem ever to have meditated an attack on the *Doctrines* of the universal Church. It was against the relaxed discipline, against the ambition and the vices of the Clergy, and the almost general backsliding of the people, that they directed their arguments or their reproaches.

Not any one of these persons enlisted under the banners of the Augustine Friar, Martin Luther, when with the most daring freedom he entirely departed from the Catholic Church, and sought not to reform, but to revolutionize the principles of his ancestors and brethren. The most violent advocate of Reform would have trembled and shrunk back with horror at a proposal to dethrone the holy Pontiff, to question the purity of the Church in regard to her doctrines, or the validity and usefulness of the ancient discipline ; nor, indeed, did the Lutheran Reformers themselves, in the first instance, attack any of the received and sacred dogmas of the Church. It was not till they were emboldened by success, or irritated by opposition, that they presumed to lay the axe to

the root, or even to aim a single blow at the supremacy of the Pope, or the infallibility of the Church.

Concerning the real sentiments and intentions of the friends of Reform, Bossuet writes thus :* “ Protestants cite to us St. Bernard, who, enumerating the Church’s grievances, and those she suffered from heresies in her progress, and those she was exposed unto in latter days by the depravation of manners, allows them to be far more dreadful, because they taint the very vitals, and spread infection through all the members of the Church : whence, concludes this great man, the Church may truly say with Isaiah, ‘ her most painful and most grievous bitterness is in peace ;’ when left in peace by infidels, and unmolested by heretics, she is most dangerously assaulted by the depraved manners of her own children. Even this were enough to shew, that he does not, like our Reformers, bewail the errors the Church had fallen into, (on the contrary, he represents her as secure on that side) but such evils only as proceeded from relaxed discipline. Accordingly, when instead of discipline, the church’s *dogmata* were attacked by turbulent and restless men, such as Peter de Bruis, as Henry, as Arnold of Bresse ; this great man would never suffer their weak-

* Variations, i. 4—6.

easing, so much as one of them, but fought invincibly, as well for the faith of the Church, as for the authority of her prelates.

“ The case is the same with the rest of the Catholic doctors, who, in the succeeding ages, lamented abuses, and demanded a reformation of them. Of all these the most renowned is Gerson, and none more loudly called for it in the Church’s head and members. In a sermon he made after the Council of Pisa before Alexander V., he introduces the Church, requesting of the Pope the reformation and re-establishment of the kingdom of Israel; but to shew he complained of no error, that could be observed in the Church’s doctrine, he addresses the Pope in these words :—‘ Why do you not send to the Indians, whose faith may easily have been corrupted, they not being united to the Church of Rome, whence certainty of faith must be derived ?’ His master, Cardinal Peter d’Ailly, sighed also for a reformation; but the principle he went upon was far different from that of Luther, who, writing to Melancthon, gave it for a maxim, ‘ that sound doctrine could not subsist whilst the Pope’s authority subsisted :’ whereas, this Cardinal was of opinion, ‘ that the members of the Church being separated from their head, during the schism, and there being no administrator and apostolical director, namely, no Pope, that all the Church acknowledged, it was not to be hoped

that a reformation could be well brought about.' Thus one made the reformation to depend on the subversion of the Papacy; the other, on the perfect re-settling of that sacred authority, which was established by Jesus Christ on purpose to keep up unity among his members, and withhold all in their respective duties."

Indeed, the *Catholic Reformers*, for so it may be convenient to distinguish them, never once thought of asserting, that any thing could "be wrong in the faith or worship of the Church;" nor did they ever so much as attempt to shake the foundations of that authority, which they at all times supposed "the Church, her supreme pastor, and her prelates, received from Christ," and which, they firmly maintained, could never be altered or impaired, though as we have already seen, they are free enough to "admit, that when Luther first made his attack on the Church of Rome, much reformation in the Church, both in respect to its head and members, was wanting in discipline and morals."*

I close with regret this feeble sketch of what the Germans would call *Reformationis ante Reformationem*, a well-written history of which, as Mr. Butler† very justly remarks, is much

* Butler's *Revolutions of the Germanic Empire*, p. 87, 2d ed.

† *Ibid.*

wanted. The editors of Beausobre's *Histoire de la Réformation* say that something of this kind was found among his papers, with the title of *Preliminaires de la Réformation*; but we are not informed whether it was ever printed, and it appears there is no knowledge of it in this country.*

SECTION V.

Causes that led to the Saxon and German Reformation.

THE more proximate causes of the Saxon and German Reformation, first begun in the early part of the sixteenth century, may be sought for:—I. In the continued profligacy and laxity of the clergy. II. The pride and obstinacy of the Roman Court. III. The extravagance and indifference of the supreme Pontiff, Leo X. IV. The recent invention of the invaluable art of printing. V. The disgraceful use which Tetzel and others made of the doctrine and sale of indulgences. VI. The persevering boldness of Luther. And, lastly, though by no means the least, VII. The avarice and ra-

* I have made diligent, and even laborious, inquiry among the London booksellers, concerning this, but without success; Mr. Butler says "it has not found its way to the London market."—*Revolutions*, &c. p. 87.

capacity of several princes, and inferior magistrates, who instigated and encouraged opposition to the papal power, that they might themselves partake of the spoils or the prerogatives of the Church.*

Other causes have been enumerated by Protestant writers. Dr. Sturges,† in particular, mentions, as one of these pre-disposing causes, “the doctrines which the Church ingrafted on Christianity and imposed on the world;”—“doctrines,” he adds, “unauthorized by Scripture, repugnant to the common sense of mankind, and for the most part calculated to answer some indirect purpose of policy or profit.” It would be foreign to the object of this work to engage in any controversy on the side of Catholicism; and were it not so, there are few writers, whose positions, in many cases, I should feel more repugnance in combating than those of this learned and gentlemanly author; but, with submission, it would appear, that the question of doctrines is one the most remote from this subject. For, *in the first instance*, it was not against the Catholic dogmata,‡ but against the abuses, and the corruptions of the papal court, or, as Dr. Sturges himself justly expresses§ it, “the gross instance of

* “Pinguis est panis Christi, et præbēbit delicias régibus.”

† Reflections on Popery, p. 60, 4to. ed.

‡ Vide ante, p. 39.

§ P. 62.

papal *abuse*," "in the case of indulgences," that Luther and others directed their zeal. Our intrepid Reformer does not appear at all to have contemplated an attack against the trinity, transubstantiation, original sin, vicarious punishments, purgatory, praying for the dead, the use of images and pictures as helps to devotion, the veneration of reliques, the sacraments, the Catholicity and authority of the Church, tradition, the invocation of saints, or even against the use and sale of indulgences. It was not, I say, against all or any of these Catholic tenets, that the Reformers, in the first instance, protested; nor are we certain, had no flagrant abuse been made of some branches of discipline, that any efforts would then have been made to restore the ancient simplicity of faith, or the purity of the primitive discipline.

It will not be contended, that the doctrines just enumerated are not, as Dr. Sturges asserts, some of them at least "unauthorized by Scripture," or even "repugnant to the common sense of mankind;" but certainly, neither their unscripturalness, nor their repugnance to common sense, had any share in producing the earliest efforts of the Reformers; nor were they alleged as grounds of complaint. They embrace all, or at least the most prominent features of the Catholic creed; and some of them are retained by Dr. Sturges himself. It is worthy of remark, that of most of those Catholic

tenets which the majority of the reformed churches have thought proper to retain, there has always been a learned and respectable, if not a very numerous, class who strenuously maintain, that even they "are unauthorized by Scripture, repugnant to the common sense of mankind, and for the most part calculated to answer some indirect purpose of policy or profit." Similar causes may produce similar events; if, then, Dr. Sturges's reasoning be conclusive in this instance, let the Church of England look to it, lest reform or ruin should be denounced even against her establishments.*

* The reader will do well to read, with peculiar attention, that spirited, though it is to be hoped somewhat too severe, publication, the *Hints to the Legislature and the Public on the nature and effects of Evangelical Preaching*. By a Barrister. The two last parts are by far the best. And those who feel concerned for the safety of our national Church, which every peaceable man ought to do, should read, with some allowance, the second edition of Simpson's *Plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings*. In this writer one may almost recognize the spirit which formerly animated the souls of St. Bernard, Gerson, the Cardinal Julian, and Giovanni Francesco Pico; and it is not a little curious to hear a respectable clergyman of our own national establishment in the 18th century thus express himself:—"I do not see how I can, either in honour or conscience, continue to officiate any longer as a *Minister of the Gospel in the Establishment of my native country*. It appears to me, in my coolest and most considerate moments, to be, with all its excellencies, a main branch of the *anti-christian* system. It is a strange mixture, as hath been already observed, of what is secular and what is

It may be expected from a Protestant writer, that he should enumerate among the causes of the Reformation, the secret, if not even the open and visible, interposition of Divine Providence. And some will even think, that the fulfilment of the Apocalyptical prophecies, and the pre-

is spiritual. And I strongly suspect, the day is at no very great distance, when the whole fabric shall tumble into ruins, and the pure and immortal religion of the Son of God rise more bright, lovely, and glorious from its subversion. The several warnings of the *Sacred Oracles* seem to be of vast importance, and necessary to be observed: *Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul; be not cut off in her iniquity; for this is the day of the LORD's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompense.* Jer. li. 6.—*We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed; forsake her, and let us go every one unto his own country.* Ibid. li. 9.—*When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by DANIEL, the prophet, stand in the holy place, then let them which be in Judea, flee to the mountains.* Matt. xxiv. 15, 16.—These are only remotely applicable to the business in hand. The following is more directly so.—*I heard a voice from heaven, saying, COME OUT OF HER, MY PEOPLE, THAT YE BE NOT PARTAKERS OF HER SINS, AND THAT YE RECEIVE NOT OF HER PLAGUES.* Rev. xviii. 4.”

It is to be hoped this good man's fears were much too strong, and his representations too highly coloured. Mr. Simpson died soon after the second edition of the “Plea,” which contained the Appendixes, was printed, but before it was published; and his executors took some pains to prevent its circulation. His son, the present Mr. Simpson, on his coming of age, claimed possession of the work and gave it to the world. The book made some noise at the time, but seems now to be little read. It is the production of a singularly honest and pious man.

dictions of Daniel the prophet, should be taken into this estimate. Such pious readers may rest assured that these points are only omitted because it is the author's firm persuasion that to have adduced them on this occasion would naturally be construed by Catholics into a begging of the question, and would, moreover, lead to criticisms and speculations tending rather to perplex than to elucidate the great subject under consideration. Yet, so firmly fixed is the author's belief in the consoling doctrine of divine agency in all the great revolutions of the universe, that he has no hesitation in assenting to the reasoning of Dr. Robertson on this point; and he hopes that, once for all, it will satisfy the most scrupulous of his brethren, to quote what this eminent historian has written on this subject of Providence:—"To overturn a system of religious belief, founded on ancient and deep-rooted prejudices, supported by power, and defended with no less art than industry; to establish in its room doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency; and to accomplish all this, not by external violence or the force of arms, are operations, which historians, the least prone to credulity and superstition, ascribe to that Divine Providence, which, with infinite ease, can bring about events which to human sagacity appear impossible. The interposition of Heaven in favour of the Christian religion, at its first publication, was manifested by miracles and prophecies wrought and ut-

tered in confirmation of it. Though none of the reformers possessed, or pretended to possess, these supernatural gifts, yet that wonderful preparation of circumstances which disposed the minds of men for receiving the doctrines, that singular combination of causes which secured their success, and enabled men, destitute of power and of policy, to triumph over those who employed against them extraordinary efforts of both, may be considered as no slight proof, that the same hand which planted the Christian religion, protected the reformed faith, and reared it from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of vigour and maturity.”*

And now I may be permitted to pass on to a review of those less equivocal or controvertible causes already enumerated, which produced this most extraordinary event.

I. The extreme laxity and even profligacy of the clergy, had long been a source of painful regret to the wise and the good, and of sarcasm, impious pleasure, and contempt to the wicked and the vain. Cardinal Bellarmine, a writer, as all the world knows, but seldom disposed to say a syllable in disparagement of the Church or the Roman Court, confesses that “for some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic here-

* Reign of Charles V. i. pp. 235—236. ed. 1809.

sies," as he expresses it, " were published, " there was not (as contemporary authors testify) any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any discipline with regard to morals, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence for divine things ; there was not almost any religion remaining."*

It would be easy to enlarge on the representations which have been made by writers of every description, of the depravity of the times, both long before and immediately preceding, the reformation. But enough on this head has already been given in the preceding section ; and charity would lead us to hope, nay, it is absolutely certain, that, bad as have been the popes and the clergy, they never were so utterly depraved as they are represented to have been ; though I fear it is too much to say, with Dr. Milner,† that not more than thirty of the 255 pontiffs have dishonoured their high office and sacred profession. It must, however, be granted, that a very large majority of the popes of Rome, and of the ministers of religion, have been men of piety, virtue, and benevolence. The Rev. Alban Butler's

* Bellar. Concio xxviii. Oper. tom. vi. col. 296. ed. Colon. 1617, apud Gerdesii Hist. Evan. Renovati, Vol. I. p. 25, in Robertson's Reign of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 258.

† Letters to a Prebendary, p. 38.

Lives of the Saints*, exhibits some instances of the most exalted goodness that ever adorned human nature; and the several published **Histories of the Popes**, even the most prejudiced† attest the important fact, that many of the Roman pontiffs have “been persons of eminent virtues and heroic sanctity, whose example is publicly held out for the edification and example of christians.” And why should any Protestant blame this just tribute of praise? Yet, blamed it will be; and many will regard the author as little less than in “league with devils.” Thank God! the system of faith he has adopted, as being, in his judgment, the Faith of the Gospel, stands in no need of support from the vices, or even the virtues of popes. Were all the Roman prelates Saints, that would not alter the records of truth; had all of them been demons, the divine veracity would remain unshaken. It is, therefore, with far other feelings than those of envy or mistrust, that I discover, (for, as to myself, I announce it as a *discovery*, in opposition to the slanders or

* Of this book Mr. Gibbon thus speaks:—“A work of merit; the sense and learning belong to the author: his prejudices are those of his profession.” Dec. and Fall, vi. p. 166. [Note †] See, too, the Life of this eminent and excellent divine, by his nephew, the present Charles Butler, Esq.

† Not even excepting the work of the reformed Councillor of the Inquisition, Bower, a book which has happily sunk into contempt and oblivion.

the pious prejudices of the nursery,*) that many of the Popes of Rome have been men that would have honoured any church to which

* Those who have no interests to serve but those of truth ; no mistake but what they would gladly have removed, will not blame me for inserting, in this place, the following extract from Mr. Gother's curious little work, entitled, "*A Papist Misrepresented and Represented ; or a Two-fold Character of Popery.*" The extract is made from the edition of 1811 :

" Of Wicked Principles and Practices.

" The *papist misrepresented* is a member of a church called holy ; but in her doctrine and practices, so foul and abominable, that whosoever admires her for sanctity, may upon the same grounds, do homage to vice itself. Has ever any society, since Christ's time, appeared in the world so black and deformed with hellish crimes as she ? has she not outdone even the most barbarous nations and infidels, with her impieties, and drawn a scandal upon the name of Christian, by her unparalleled vices ? Take but a view of the horrid practices she has been engaged in ; consider the French and Irish massacres, the murder of Henry III. and IV. kings of France, the holy league, the gun-powder treason, the cruelty of Queen Mary, the firing of London, the death of Sir Edmund Bury-Godfrey ; and an infinite number of other such like devilish contrivances ; and then tell me, whether that church, which has been the author and promoter of such barbarous designs, ought to be esteemed holy, and respected for piety and religion, or rather to be condemned for the mistress of iniquity, the whore of Babylon, which hath polluted the earth with her wickedness, and taught nothing but the doctrine of devils ? And let never so many pretences be made ; yet it is evident, that all these execrable practices have been done according to the known principles
of

they might have belonged. Let others, who are so disposed, build their favourite systems on the ruins of the papal character ; and fancy, as

of this holy church, and that her greatest patrons, the most learned of her divines, her most eminent bishops, her prelates, cardinals, and even the popes themselves, have been the chief managers of these hellish contrivances. And what more convincing argument that they are well proved, than that they are conformable to the religion taught by their church ?”

“ The *papist truly represented* is a member of a church, which, according to the Ninth Article of the Apostles’ Creed, he believes to be holy ; and this not only in name, but also in doctrine ; and for witnesses of her sanctity, he appeals to her councils, catechisms, pulpits, and spiritual books of direction ; in which the main design is, to imprint in the hearts of the faithful this comprehensive maxim of christianity ; that they ought to love God above all things, with their whole heart and soul ; and their neighbour as themselves ; and that none should flatter themselves with a confidence to be saved by faith alone, without living soberly, justly, and piously ; as it is taught in the Council of Trent, *Sess. 6. c. 11.* So that he doubts not but that as many as live according to the directions of his church, and in observance of her doctrine, live holily in the service and fear of God ; and with an humble confidence in the merits and passion of their Redeemer, may hope to be received after this life into eternal bliss. But that all in communion with his church do not live thus holily, and in the fear of God, he knows it is too evident ; there being many in all places, wholly forgetful of their duty, giving themselves up to vice, and guilty of most horrid crimes. And though he is not bound to believe all to be true, that is charged upon them by their adversaries ; there being no narrative of any such devilish contrivances and practices laid to them, wherein passion and fury have not made great additions ; wherein things

they may, that their own elevation must assuredly advance with the depression and degradation of popery.

things dubious are not improved into certainties, suspicions into realities, fears and jealousies into substantial plots, and downright lies and recorded perjuries, into pulpit, nay, gospel truths; yet he really thinks, that there have been men of his profession, of every rank and degree, learned and unlearned, high and low, secular and ecclesiastic, that have been scandalous in their lives, wicked in their designs, without the fear of God in their hearts, or care of their own salvation. But what then? Is the whole church to be condemned for the vicious lives of some of her professors; and her doctrine to stand guilty of as many villainies as those commit, who neglect to follow it? If so, let the men of that society, judgment, or persuasion, who are not in the like circumstances, fling the first stone. Certainly, if this way of passing sentence be once allowed as just and reasonable, there never was, nor ever will be, any religion or church of God upon earth. A confident undertaker would find no difficulty in proving this, especially if he had but the gift of exaggerating some things,—misrepresenting others,—finding authors for every idle story,—charging the extravagant opinions of every single writer upon the religion they profess,—raking together all the wickedness, cruelties, treacheries, plots, conspiracies, at any time committed, by ambitious desperadoes, or wicked villains: and then positively asserting, that what these did, was according to the doctrine of that church of which they were members; and that the true measures of the sanctity and goodness of the church in whose communion these men were, may be justly taken from the behaviour of such offenders. But certainly no man of reason or conscience can allow of such proceedings. No sober man would ever go to Newgate or Tyburn, to know what is the religion
professed

But to proceed with the subject, that the laxity and depravity of the Roman clergy, formed one strong cause of the reformation of the

professed in England according to law ; nor would look into all the sinks, jakes, dunghills, common sewers about town, from such a prospect to give a true description of the city. Why, therefore, should the character of the church of Rome and her doctrine be taken only from the loose behaviour and wicked crimes of such, who, though in communion with her, yet live not according to her direction ? She teaches holiness of life, mercy to the poor, loyalty and obedience to princes, and the necessity of keeping the commandments ; witness the many books of devotion and direction, made English for public benefit, written originally by papists, and great numbers there are, God be praised, who practise them in their lives. And now if there be many also who stop their ears to good instruction, and following the suggestion of their own ungovernable appetites, of pride, ambition, covetousness, luxury, &c. who lay aside all concern of salvation, and become so unchristian both to God and their neighbour, that they are a shame to their profession ; why should the church be represented according to the wickedness of those that neglect her doctrine ; and not rather by the piety and exemplary lives of such as follow it ? Let the character of the church be given according to what she teaches, and not according to the writings of every positive opiniator, or the practices of every wicked liver, and there is no fear of its coming out so ugly and deformed. Neither let any one pretend to demonstrate the faith and principles of papists, by the works of every divine in their communion ; or by the actions of every bishop, cardinal, or pope ; which are not any rule of their faith. They own that many of their writers are too loose in their opinions ; that all bishops or cardinals are not so edifying as becomes their

Church. For although their crimes were not quite so black, nor so numerous, as some have stated, they were sufficient to excite the hatred of many. Had the moral conduct of the head and ministers of religion been such as became their holy office, it is more than probable that no particular outcry would have been raised against the Catholic doctrines to the present hour. It was not the light of science, the encouragement at that time given to the arts and to elegant literature; it was not any new discovery that had then been made in regard to morals, metaphysics, or religion, that first enabled the reformers to attack, with success, the principles

their state; and that popes also may have their failings. But what then? the actions of popes concern not the faith of those who are in communion with them; they may throw a scandal indeed upon the religion, but they can never alter its creed. But what need any other return to the numerous clamours made daily against the wickedness of the papists? It is a sufficient vindication of their chief pastors and popes, to use the words of Lord Castlemain in his apology, that among two hundred and fifty, that have now successively borne the charge, there are not above ten or twelve, against whom their most malicious adversaries can find occasion of spitting their venom; and that a challenge may be made to the world, to shew but the fifth part of so many successive governors, since the creation, of which there have not been far more that have abused their power. And as for his flock, the people owning his authority, it is true, that many wicked things have been done by some of them; and too many like libertines, neglect the care of their fold: but, however, the generality of them live like christians."

of the old faith, or the peculiarities of the ancient discipline. Even before that event, the arts were encouraged because they contributed to support the primitive superstitions. The liberal sciences were no where so successfully cultivated as in the cloisters and at the sacred colleges. The profound learning of the Benedictine monks has been the subject of a warm panegyric from the able pen of Mr. Gibbon; and Mr. Roscoe, as we have already seen,* bears ample testimony to the learning and talents of many of the supreme pontiffs. Indeed, as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, the Reformation, so far from being the result of a love of literature and the arts, tended very materially, in the outset at least, to damp the generous ardour of the poet and the painter; to restrain the powerful efforts of the sculptor; and to turn the stream of useful studies into those channels of scholastic and metaphysical wrangling in which the depraved taste of angry polemics has ever since delighted to wanton.

No: it was the base conduct of the clergy that first sounded the tocsin of religious war. This depravity had, naturally enough, become the subject of public ridicule, of reproach, and at last, of contempt and open opposition. The universal cry was "REFORM!" and when this

* Vide ante, p. 64.

call was rejected, another, still more powerful and dreadful, was raised, of "DESTRUCTION!" The *Holiness* of the Church became the first object of general attack; and, unfortunately for herself, that which should have been her strongest hold, was the most vulnerable part in the whole fortress. This taken, nothing was left really worth contending for. Her *Unity*, *Catholicity*, and *Apostolicity*, could make but a poor defence, seeing she exhibited so miserable a stand on the once boasted ground of her *Holiness*. In those states wherein the Church may be said to have fallen, it is fair to remark, that she fell, in a manner, by her own hand. The prophet's reproach may justly be applied to her:—"O Israel! thou hast destroyed thyself!" It is with communities as with individuals: little "can harm them whilst they are followers of that which is good." As "Charity hides a multitude of sins," so does much active goodness conceal from the view a thousand errors of opinion, and many superstitions of worship. The subsequent ridicule and indecent abuse about the "wafer god," would, doubtless, have been spared had the Catholic clergy but minded, as they ought, by a life of devotion and obedience, "to honour and serve that God," whom they believed to be present in the consecrated elements of which the wafer was composed. The outcry was not against the Host, but against him by whom it was elevated. Holy images, pictures, reliques, and shrines, were never despised till they were

abused and profaned by those to whose custody they had been piously consigned. Let not, then, the present adherents to the Catholic religion complain of us Protestants, that the vices of their ancestors have opened our eyes, that some of us now disregard and abjure, as monstrous errors, those doctrines, under the profession of which so much mischief has been perpetrated. We were first alarmed, then scandalized, then disgusted, and at length, enlightened. We trembled for the safety of the ark of the Lord. We touched it, somewhat rudely I grant, and it fell, and in its fall it broke; and, to our utter surprise, we discovered its contents to be of a very different character from that which we had ever been taught. The "Tables of Testimony" turned out to be, at least in our estimation, the weak and contradictory traditions of fallible, sometimes wicked, men. The writings on these tables did not appear to us to have any traces of the Finger of God. We awoke from a sleep of many centuries; during which our senses had been imposed upon by delusions about infallibility, indefectibility, pious pilgrimages, miracles, mysteries, saints, and devotions, and "behold it was a dream!"

But it will be asked, that, seeing the depravity of the Roman clergy was a principal cause of revolt, now that the necessary reformation has taken place, and Catholic ministers, as a body, no longer dishonour their profession, why do not

Protestants return to the bosom of the church, and conform to her discipline? This question I profess myself not fully competent to answer. It must be left, as in other cases, to Protestant episcopalians of the established Church. To those who allow that "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies,*—who have implicit faith in the *Fathers*,—who admit mysteries as articles of belief,—who yield their judgment and prostrate their reason at the shrine of the *Three Creeds*, and still retain the *damnatory Clauses*,† to all such this question must, I should conceive, prove rather knotty and provoking; and to them and theirs I gladly consign it.‡

* Vide the XXth Article of Religion, in the Book of Common Prayer. It is of small purpose now to assert the fact, that this singular passage is a forgery, foisted into the article by some designing person. It is now believed and acted upon.

† "Whoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the CATHOLIC faith; which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

"And the CATHOLIC faith is this:—

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

"This is the CATHOLIC faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved: Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!" Vide "The Creed of Saint Athanasius," as, upon certain occasions, it is "appointed to be said or sung at the morning prayer, by the minister and people standing."

‡ I have read the Bishop of Durham's "Grounds on

II. The growing pride of the court of Rome, naturally engendered by the union of church and state, was one of the strong symptoms of approaching revolt. Corrupt princes may boast of the divine stability of their thrones, and even persecute and destroy those who forewarn them of their danger; but, under God, the fountain of power is in the people: from them it originally emanates, and to them it must ultimately revert, whenever those to whom they have delegated any portion of it shall refuse to listen to their just complaints, or become wicked beyond a certain extent. Dreadful are those convulsions, and inconceivably alarming their consequences, which are produced by popular fury, roused into action by the rejection of reason, and the pride and stubbornness of wicked governors. "But the Reformation was an affair of religion and morals, and not a political convulsion." It was both: yet the origin of the tumult was political, and in many cases it was conducted upon political principles. If the revolted at length entered the temples of religion, it was because the pride, the arrogance, and the domineering spirit of the ministers of truth had led them to incorporate the mysteries of faith with the speculations of worldly aggrandizement; and we often

which the Church of England separated from that of Rome :” but I have also read “Remarks” on those “Grounds,” by the Author of “Remarks on the Bishop of Durham’s Charge;” sold by Booker, and Keating and Co.

find, that the same storm which casts down the throne, makes the holy altars tremble to their base.

When proud men in power are hard pressed with the arguments or the complaints of their inferiors, there are only two methods, as they suppose, of parrying the ignoble thrusts of the adversary : they must either crush by authority their troublesome opponents; or, shrouding themselves in a delusive security, treat the reasoning of their humble but powerful enemies with " silent contempt : " often the miserable subterfuge of the cowardly and the vanquished. This was the conduct of the Roman court. The remonstrances of the wise and good were listened to, but disregarded ; the satires and lampoons of the poets were laughed at, and forgotten ; and, for a long time, the innovating zeal of Luther, " an obscure monk, in a corner of Germany," was treated with what was mistakenly deemed, a merited disregard.

Perhaps, it may be said, and truly, that the love of ease, refinement, and polite literature, rather than the pride, of Leo the Tenth, operated to the prejudice of the church, and collaterally strengthened the cause of the reformers. But it was those very feelings, swelling into disdain for the remonstrances and homely vulgarities of the real friends of religion and public virtue, that preyed like a canker on the papal power; and,

by its corrosive qualities, weakened, if it could not destroy, the foundations of its own imperious dignity. In every point of view, the church acted the part of a suicide; and this conduct seems inseparable, in a greater or lesser degree, from that fatal union of church and state, by which the same person is allowed to sustain the two opposite characters of a temporal prince and a minister of religion. By the one he is taught the common duties and principles of a christian, and to obey him who said "Be ye not called Rabbi;" by the other, he imbibes maxims of the world; and universal experience shews, that mankind in general are more promptly, if not more powerfully, influenced by prospects of immediate temporal enjoyment, than by the unseen and remote assurances of faith and virtue. The church of Christ will never fail: the providence of its founder is the invulnerable bulwark of its safety, and the promise of the Redeemer the imperishable charter of its eternal inheritance. But the unnatural union of the church with civil governments must, sooner or later, be dissolved in every state of christendom. They do not support, they clog and incommode each other. It is the connexion of Christ and of Belial: a sort of spiritual incest, forbidden in nature, and opposed by religion. Its offspring is not uniformity, but hypocrisy and persecution.

Under these circumstances, in countries inimical to religious toleration, the church will be

filled, for the most part, either with hypocrites or with men altogether indifferent to religion. On the other hand, in states where each individual enjoys full liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of his peculiar forms of worship, the establishment will be deserted, and the community split into innumerable sectaries, as is the case in this country. All this results from the pride of a worldly, national, or secular creed; and this was the case with the church of Rome. Where she has fallen, she has been the prey of that proud and fatal principle of uniting, what should be for ever separate, the honours and duties of the clerical order, with the powers and prerogatives of temporal princes.

The plain inference, as it relates to the Reformation is this:—that had the church of Rome kept herself apart from courts, she had never been infected with that virus of earthly dominion, which at length found its way to her vitals, poisoned, inflated, and will, probably, at length destroy her as a worldly system, and exhibit her once more relying only on the strength of her faith, and the purity of her morals.

The French exposé of 1809, under the head of Religious Worship, has some excellent observations, which even the villainous motives of the plunderer of Europe who made them, cannot invalidate. “Every one knows,” says he, “the evils caused to religion by the temporal

sovereignty of the Pope. Without this, half Europe would not be separated from the catholic church. There was but one method of saving her for ever from such great dangers, and of reconciling the interests of the state with those of religion. It was needful that the successor of St. Peter should be a pastor like St. Peter; who, solely occupied with the salvation of souls, and with spiritual interests, might cease to be agitated by worldly ideas, by pretensions to sovereignty, and by disputes concerning boundaries, territories, and provinces. It is a benefit, then, to separate religion from what is a stranger to her, and to have placed her in her state of evangelical purity." In another part of this exposé, it is justly remarked, that "priests should live by the altar, and be attentive to such things only as concern their holy functions."

Whoever would appreciate the value and the excellence of this reasoning, must detach it entirely from its hypocritical cant of respect for the true interests of the church;* and bear in mind, that had the spiritual power of the pope been as valuable in the estimation of Bonaparte as were his temporal possessions, this rapacious Cæsar would never have talked of "rendering

* "This he said, not that he cared for the *Church*, but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein." *John*, c. xiii. v. 6.

unto God the things that are God's." In the same exposé he says, that "the Pope must, according to the principles of Jesus Christ, give, like others, to Cæsar what is due to Cæsar;" adding, very truly, but with the same diabolical motive of plunder, that "the temporal crown and the sceptre of this world were not put into the pope's hands by him whose will it was that he should call himself the servant of the servants of God, and who recommended to him, at all times, charity and humility."

III. Next to the lordly pride of the Roman court, we may reckon, among the proximate causes of the Reformation, the luxury, extravagance, and religious indifference of Leo the Tenth.

About the period of Luther's first attack on the religion of Catholics, Rome was in profound peace; and this interval of repose Leo the Tenth occupied in expensive schemes for aggrandizing the family of the Medici; in extending the splendour of the papal see; and in lavishing presents on authors, artists, profane wits, and buffoons. To support the enormous expenses to which these propensities subjected the supreme pontiff, required far greater resources than the almost exhausted treasury of the papal court could furnish; for that treasury had been pretty well drained by the recent war of Urbino, and other causes, which it is needless now to enumerate. Yet, at no time was the Roman court in

greater splendour, nor did the vicars of Christ ever exhibit a magnificence so imposing, as that displayed during the pontificate of Leo the Tenth. Every decoration that art could suggest; every wish that the most voluptuous appetite could engender; and every refinement that an unbounded love of science and literature could devise, found a patron in that luxurious prince. This great Macenas of the age, in his unrestrained admiration of talent and genius, scrupled not to lend his countenance, and open his coffers, to many palpable empirics, and vulgar buffoons.

Speaking of the spiritual splendour of the Roman see, A. D. 1517, the biographer of Leo X.* gives us the following animated description: "The revenues of the numerous benefices, rich abbeys, and other ecclesiastical preferments bestowed upon each of the cardinals and great dignitaries of the Church, frequently amounted to a princely sum, and a prelate was comparatively poor whose annual income did not amount to eight or ten thousand ducats. On the death of Sixtus della Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV.,†

* Roscoe's Life of Leo X. iii. 185.

† The annual income of this debauched ecclesiastic amounted to upwards of 40,000 ducats; although Paris de Grassis informs us, that he was so ignorant as not to be able to write or read; to which he adds, in allusion to the disease under which he laboured: "*ab umbilico ad plantas pedum*

in the year 1517, Leo appointed his cousin Giulio de Medici vice chancellor of the holy see; which office alone brought him the annual sum of twelve thousand ducats. Nor was it only from within the limits of Italy that the cardinals and prelates of the Church derived their wealth and dignities. All Europe was then tributary to the Roman See; and many of these fortunate ecclesiastics, whilst they passed their days amidst the luxuries and amusements of Rome, supported their rank and supplied their dissipation by contributions from the remotest parts of Christendom. The number of benefices held by an individual was limited only by the will of the pontiff; and by an ubiquity, which although abstractedly impossible, has been found actually and substantially true, the same person was frequently at the same time an archbishop of Germany, a bishop in France or England, an abbot or a friar in Poland or in Spain, and a cardinal at Rome."

This profusion and magnificence in the supreme Pontiff was amply copied by the chiefs and the princes of the Roman Court, who vied with each other in the grandeur and sumptuousness of their palaces and the prodigality and gaiety of their entertainments. Nor did it

totum perditus, ut nec stare nec incidere posset." v. Fabron. León. X. in advot. 53, p. 287.

deduct from the pressure to which this extravagance exposed the subjects of the papal dominions, that a considerable portion of the riches which were drained from the labour or the purses of the poor, were lavished, without discrimination, on artists, painters, and sculptors. Unusual splendour, although it may beget a temporary and meretricious respect in the minds of the vulgar, will not fail, sooner or later, to create a dangerous envy, and a spirit of hatred, in the hearts of those who are called upon to contribute towards its support. And such was the effect produced on a very large portion of the christian world. Every one boasted of the glory of the Church, because he wished to persuade himself and others, that a ray of that glory might obliquely glance on himself; but in the midst of every boast, and during the loudest panegyric, a latent feeling of envy lurked in numerous breasts; and few could discover in the princely Vicar of Christ, the visible Chief of the Catholic Church, any traces of that spirit which actuated Him who "had not where to lay his head."

Such were the feelings and the views of the bulk of christians when Luther stepped forth to put his torch to the parched and inflexible combustibles, by which a flame was enkindled, which no authority, no persecution, no art or logic has ever been able to extinguish; which will, doubtless, burn till all the corruptions that

mistaken ministers and crafty politicians have grafted on the pure faith of the Gospel are for ever destroyed ; and it shall be deemed a satisfactory characteristic of a believing christian, that he " does justly, loves mercy, and walks humbly with his God."

But the expensive dignity of the see of Rome was not the only ground of complaint. In the midst of courtly gaieties and costly pageantry, the mind of the supreme Pontiff became insensible or indifferent to the dangers that were collecting around him. Leo X. has been accused of a natural disregard of theological studies and the religious affairs of the Church. But of what has not this pontiff been accused? All the vices that attach to atheism and infidelity have been made to centre in his character ; and on the single testimony of John Bale nearly three or four hundred authors, or compilers, have re-echoed the senseless slander against him, respecting the profitableness of the *fable* of Jesus Christ. It is impossible not to feel, when Protestants object against Catholics, as they do, that their *popes* themselves believe, that Christianity is nothing more than an engine of state,—a mere profitable fable. Such are the hyperbolical charges of prejudice and ignorance, that a single slander issued against one pope, supported on the sole testimony of an interested opponent, is

made to pass as a general stigma on almost every pontiff that has filled the papal chair.

The character of Leo X. has been justly balanced by the judicious hand of Mr. Roscoe; and his attention and proficiency in sacred studies shewn to have been much misunderstood. Yet both Fra Paolo and Pallavicini concur in censuring this pontiff for his great remissness in the affairs of the Church. The moderation of Leo, to which he was urged, as well by his own disposition as by the wise counsel of his learned friend and correspondent Erasmus, in some cases might be construed into indifference and unconcern. It is certain that he delayed till it was too late to exert his power to suppress the Reformation; and when, at length, he did awaken to a sense of his danger, the violence which he manifested or encouraged, tended only to add fuel to the flame. Divine Providence intending, on the one hand, to chastise the church for her profligacy of manners, and on the other, to free the Gospel of Christ from the errors and corruptions which had grown upon it, seems to have lulled the supreme Pontiff to a fatal security, and to have struck with blindness those whom it designed to punish.

IV. The recent invention of the invaluable art of printing operated in a powerful manner to bring into circulation those principles which

at length produced the Reformation. The revival of literature about this period, under the especial patronage of Leo X., gave a stimulus to every effort of intellect. Hence the reproaches so profusely cast on the conduct of the clergy were carried, by means of the press, to every cottage, and were read with eagerness by both the pious and profane; by those who saw the decay of devotion in the people, and the licentiousness of the clergy, with sentiments of sorrow and a wish to have them reformed; and also by those who saw these evils with a malicious pleasure, and a secret desire for the ruin of the Roman Court and the destruction of the papal hierarchy. In great convulsions of kingdoms and state churches, one description of men fall, and another, perhaps, no better, rise upon their ruins. The restless and the desperate, the oppressed and the resentful, delight in changes; and when a change bids fair to promote the cause of truth and virtue, the revolters are joined even by the wise and good. On these occasions, every engine is set to work,—all hands conspire to effect the grand revolution. And what more powerful instrument than the press? The virtuous employ it for the dissemination of just principles; the vicious use it to “scatter fire-brands, arrows, and death.” From both these motives was the art of printing calculated to accomplish the Reformation of religion. The violent and outrageous battered the

fortress, beat down the walls, broke through the phalanx, and entered the castle ; while the prudent and discerning quietly set about to new model the Church government, and to enact laws more congenial to their own views and interests. Between the one and the other, by the righteous interference of Providence, much good has resulted. New truths have been elicited ; many errors have been exposed ; and a way has been opened for the peaceable revival of the pure precepts and uncorrupted truths of the Gospel of Christ.

V. There is one cause of the Reformation which seems to have escaped the observation of most Protestant writers on this subject. It does not appear that they have taken into this account the rapacity and avarice of several Princes, who evidently promoted the cause of Reform from the prospect which it afforded of furnishing a plausible pretext to enlarge their individual dominions, and give them a degree of influence and independence they had never yet enjoyed. It has already been remarked, that the reforming zeal of the present ruler of France evidently owes its origin to the lust of power, and the thirst after conquest. A similar spirit no doubt actuated the conduct of some of the reformed princes on the continent ; and we all know in what impure fervors the Reformation was engendered in the breast of our Henry VIII. The " Man of Sin" gra-

dually rose into view as the cupidity of the monarch sunk him to the depths of licentious and lawless propensities. The Defender of the Faith became ambitious to be head of the Church. This reflection naturally awakens the idea, that a most powerful stimulant to reform was found in the spiritual ambition of every aspiring magistrate. An entirely new axiom of civil government was discovered, which I will state in the words of the learned Dr. John Sturges :*

“ Between the different modes and tendencies of different religious sects,” says this enlightened prebendary, “ the magistrate is to chuse, which he will make the national religion, as most useful, and most adapted to his country, by giving it a decided preference, and making a competent public provision for its ministers; other sects he will merely tolerate; others as pernicious (if there should be any such) he would totally exclude.” This novel doctrine naturally grew out of the opposition which was made to the spiritual and temporal authority of the bishops of Rome; and it would be paying an unmerited compliment to human nature, were we to suppose, that a doctrine so congenial to the ambition of magistrates, could be wholly rejected or discountenanced by them. Hitherto the state had been subservient to the church; and their union, whatever other mis-

* Reflections on Popery, p. 20.

chiefs it might create, had as yet no influence on religious doctrines, nor any control in the affairs of salvation. Had the reformers proposed to dissolve the union of secular and spiritual interests, rather than to transfer the authority of the clergy to the hands of the magistrate, little encouragement would they have met with among princes and lawyers. The use, which many of the reformed "rulers of this world" made of their power, shews the motives by which they were actuated in lending their aid to lessen and suppress the errors of the Church. Some of the most offensive and really objectionable tenets and practices of the Catholic Church were retained, and only a few of the withered branches severed from the trunk.

"The Bible! the Bible only! is the religion of Protestants!" exclaims good William Chillingworth.—"Very true," says the judicious Hooker,* in his Ecclesiastical Polity; "but then you must submit to receive the Bible from the hands of Church-of-England men"—"Certainly, the Bible, by all means," adds the learned Margaret Professor; "yet the Bible is nothing without the Book of Common Prayer."† —"Nay, nay, the Bible is not the thing you

* I pretend not to quote, in these instances, verbatim; but am, nevertheless, correct in substance and matter of fact.

† See Dr. Herbert Marsh's Inquiry into the consequences of neglecting to give the Prayer-Book with the Bible.

want, unless you discover in it all the great and precious truths contained in the Assembly's Catechism, and can submit to the wholesome discipline of the Directory," replies the pious and sober Presbyterian. "No, No, No," says the zealous Methodist, "it is the Bible collated with Mr. Wesley's Sermons, and Mr. Fletcher's Checks*, that is the religion of Protestants." "And thou mayest read the Bible and the Checks likewise till Doomsday, friend, to no purpose, unless thou hast the light of the Spirit," adds the modest Quaker.—"A truce with your spirit!" exclaims the Swedenborgian, "why don't you read the works of the highly illuminated Baron; wherein are answered all questions, 'be they high as Heaven or deep as Hell?'"—"You all are right and all are wrong," rejoins the Rev. Dr. Sturges, the Prebendary of Winchester, "provided 'the magistrate chuses' to say so; for it is his province to decide which shall be the '*National religion*;' and if he take it into his head that all or any one of your sects are 'pernicious,' he

* In many trust-deeds belonging to the chapels of the Wesleyan Methodists, it is provided, that no preacher shall officiate in those meeting-houses, who does not conform his preaching to the Bible and to the doctrines taught in the eight volumes of Mr. Wesley's Sermons, and Mr. Fletcher's Checks to Antinomianism. So essential a thing is uniformity!

will ‘totally exclude you;’* but if you be not very obnoxious to his views, he will kindly consent ‘merely to tolerate’ you; at all events, he will ‘make a competent public provision,’ by levying a tax on every soul of you, for those ‘ministers’ to whom he ‘gives a decided preference.”

And if this be the religion of Protestants, no wonder that civil magistrates were friendly to the Reformation! After all, the greatest benefit derived to religion by the efforts of the Reformers, is that doctrine which they so often disallowed to others, but which they found so convenient to themselves, of acknowledging the unrestrained right of private judgment in matters of faith; and there is little risk in asserting, that whoever proposes any contrary terms or articles of union as necessary to be admitted, violates one of the leading and fundamental principles of the Protestant Reformation. “But this would lead to downright Socinianism, as the Catholics charge upon us.” May be so.—The charge is not without foundation, notwithstanding what some excellent Protestants have written on the subject.† This dreadful consequence may follow: it is a lamentable case; but there is no way to prevent it, while you allow

* Quere.—By fire and faggot?

† Vide The Religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation.

the principle. You may issue your orders of synods, convocations, conferences, and acts of uniformity—you may enlarge or curtail your Thirty-nine Articles—you may even pronounce sentences of “God’s wrath and everlasting damnation,” against heretics and schismatics; so long as you admit that ground-work of the Reformation, the right of private judgment, though you spend your strength in fulminations, and your skill in devising new terms of salvation, you will only be laughed at by the discerning Christian as inconsistent and intolerant.

VI. The ill use which Tetzels and others made of the sale of Indulgences is a cause of the Reformation, which has been repeated by every writer on the subject since the days of Luther. This is not the place to enter into the nature and merits of this branch of the Catholic religion. The splendour and magnificence of the papal see have already been the subject of our consideration; but we deferred to notice the enormous expenses to which the Roman government was subjected in the completion of that astonishing fabric, begun during the pontificate of Julius II., the church of St. Peter at Rome. To accomplish this stupendous undertaking, large supplies were become indispensably needful; and Leo X., as almost a last source, resorted to a measure which had been applied as early as A. D. 1100, when Urban II. granted a plenary indulgence and remission of

sins to all such persons as should join in the crusades, to liberate the sepulchre from the hands of the infidels.* In thus reviving an ancient practice, Leo X. was not introducing any new mode of taxation; but he took no pains to secure the Church from the disgrace which she subsequently sustained by the improper use of this extraordinary species of traffic.

Neither the interests of truth nor the credit of this history require that any thing should be concealed from the reader, on this or any other topic connected with the subject. But neither is it necessary to repeat all the lying calumnies which have been retailed out to the public in every petty sixpenny Preservative against Popery since the era of the Reformation. What I have at present to say on this subject relates entirely to the abuse which was practised with respect to this mode of raising money for the papal exigencies.

An indulgence, according to the genuine faith of the Catholic Church, may be correctly understood from what the celebrated Bossuet has written on the subject:† “ When the Church imposes upon sinners painful and laborious works,

* Roscoe's Leo X. iii. 212.

† Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church in matters of Controversy, Paris ed. 1729, pp. 175, 176.

and they undergo them with humility, this is called *satisfaction* ; and when, regarding the favour of the penitents, or some other good works she has prescribed them, she pardons some part of that pain which is due to them, this is called *indulgence*." This learned prelate thus remarks, that "The Council of Trent* proposes nothing else to be believed concerning indulgences, but that the power to grant them has been given to the Church by Jesus Christ, and that the use of them is beneficial to salvation : to which this Council adds, That this power ought to be retained ; yet nevertheless used with moderation, lest Ecclesiastical discipline should be weakened by an over great facility."† This is one of the most important points of dispute against Catholics. It shall have an appropriate share of attention paid to it in another place.

Though Leo X. thought proper to resort to this expedient to *raise money*, it does not appear that he was warranted in this proceeding by any Catholic or universal doctrine of the Church, though he had the example of Urban II. before

* Contin. Sess. 25, Dec. de Indulg.

† It is unaccountable how such a writer as Dr. Robertson could so grossly mistake the real doctrine of Indulgences, as taught by the Catholic Church ; and blunder so egregiously between the power of granting an Indulgence, and that which is called, emphatically, *the power of the Keys*. Vide Hist. of Charles V. vol. i.

him. This was one of the abuses of which the faithful had cause to complain; and they did complain, loudly and bitterly. But the mere act of vending remittances of holy discipline was not all. The commissioners in this ignoble traffic were not chosen from among the ranks of wise, prudent, and honest men. John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, of the most depraved habits and vicious principles, was appointed by Albert, archbishop of Mentz, to dispose of these dishonourable wares to the credulous and deluded people. Being determined to extend the benefit of his commerce as much as possible, he scrupled not to exceed the bounds of his commission, nor to extol his merchandise as abounding with every virtue that the most meritorious sacrifice or service could confer. To such an impious length did this minister of iniquity extend his blasphemies, as to declare, that these indulgences would atone for every vice, past, present, or to come; and remit every punishment, both in this life and the next, to which the most profligate wretch could be exposed.* A copy of one of these profitable instruments of pardon has been translated from Seckendorf,† and copied from Dr. Robertson into almost every account

* It should not be overlooked that Miltitz, the Pope's legate, warmly opposed the conduct of Tetzel, who died soon after, bitterly lamenting the depravity of his manners, and the baseness of his designs.

† Comment. lib. i. p. 14.

of popery which has hitherto issued from the protestant press ; and yet it is notorious, that the genuineness of this instrument is extremely doubtful. As a matter of curiosity, however, and because some would, otherwise, charge the author with disingenuousness, this nonsensical imposition shall be inserted here also. It is in form and substance as follows :

“ May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion ! And I, by the authority of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they may have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see ; and, as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to thee all punishment which thou dost deserve in purgatory on their account ; and I restore thee to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which thou didst possess at baptism ; so that when thou dost die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened ; and if thou shalt not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when thou art at the point of death !

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

This blasphemous and most ridiculous fraud was, it is said, played off upon the people in every possible shape; while the infamous fabricator and vender wallowed in every species of luxury, debauchery, and wickedness. An abuse so flagrant could not but rouse the honest indignation of every thinking person; accordingly, when a knowledge of these practices came to the ear of Martin Luther, all the greatness of his soul was called into action, and he inveighed not, at first, against indulgences themselves, but against that torrent of corruption which Tetzels abuse of them was bringing into Christendom. It has been asserted by Catholic writers, and also by some Protestants,* that the motives which influenced this intrepid reformer to oppose the sale of Indulgences, had their foundation in envy, the commission not having been granted to the monks of his order; but Dr. Maclaine has amply refuted this unworthy charge, in a very able note to his translation of Mosheim.

VII. But it is not to be supposed, that an institution of so long standing, ingrafted on so many prejudices and interests, and supported by

* If Mr. Hume may be allowed to rank in this honourable community: see his History of England, vol. iv. p. 35.

such an extraordinary weight of power and influence, could be overturned by any of the aforementioned causes, unless those causes had been called into action by some bold and intrepid spirit; some daring soul, impatient of the crown of martyrdom, and indifferent to every consideration that contributed not to advance the glory of his character and the immortality of his memory. Such a man the Reformation found in Martin Luther. Inspired by a zeal which could consume the most obdurate prejudice, and a courage that could brave the most potent authority, he carried every thing before him that retarded his designs. He knew when to advance, and when to make good a safe retreat; when to trust the energies of his own mind, and when to profit by the advice of others. In our sketch of the History of the Reformation, it will be seen with what persevering boldness he laid siege to the most ancient rules of discipline, and the most solemn rites of devotion and piety: to that place then, we shall defer any further account of Luther's zeal and energies in the cause of reform. But as this event gave rise to much palpable error and gross misrepresentation, respecting many branches of discipline, and particularly concerning monastic establishments, I will, previously to an account of the Reformation, give the reader a rapid view of the character and elevation of the monks, and of the general influence these

societies had on the manners and customs of the people that surrounded them.

SECTION VI.

General View of the Nature, Character, and Decline of Monastic Institutions.

EVERY religious profession, as well as the peculiar opinions and speculations of eminent men on subjects of morality and religion, imprints a certain characteristic and peculiarly distinctive mark on its votaries and followers. The private and public conduct, morals, and institutions, of Catholics, are strongly affected by the principles of the religion they profess. Men of experience and observation, who have resided in Catholic countries, will easily recognize some of the following peculiarities, as forming the most prominent features in the composition of that extensive body.

What principally characterizes Catholic countries, is the superior magnificence of their temples, the awful dignity of divine service, the splendour of the sacred utensils, and the august ceremonies whereby the most solemn act of christian worship, by the modern Romans and Italians termed *culto*, is celebrated. These

people have inherited from the ancient Romans, their illustrious progenitors, this laudable magnificence, in every thing that regards divine service. Sallust asserts their ancestors to have been remarkable for their donations, magnificence, and splendour, in the worship of the Deity: *in suppliciis Deorum magnifici*. The same commendable practice has been propagated from the Roman metropolis to the rest of the Christian and Catholic world; and to the same principle we may ascribe the great encouragement held out in that Church to the fine arts, particularly architecture, sculpture, painting, and music; as also the cultivation of the sciences and learned languages, especially the Latin, the use and knowledge of which is of absolute necessity to the ministers of that religion, both because the public liturgy is performed in that language, and because it is the most general vehicle of all theological information. Numerous and respectable Doctors, in all ages have in that language displayed their talents and erudition, in the defence and service of the church, in expounding her doctrines, and asserting her authority. The introduction of monastic institutions and establishments, devoted to the service of God, and for the purposes of humanity and public utility in the various charitable offices of religious and literary instruction, both at home and in barbarous and infidel countries, is also peculiar to the Catholic

Church. A great proportion of the monks dedicate their attention to the relief and support of the infirm and indigent, in hospitals and charitable houses, solely erected by their pious zeal and benevolent exertions. These people, the more effectually to accomplish their engagements, and perpetuate and secure to succeeding generations such spiritual and temporal advantages, bind themselves down by solemn vows of celibacy, obedience to their regular superiors, and abjuration of all private or separate property : hence *their* irrevocable and perpetual obligation to perform the duties of their station, and religious vocation. Much good has been effected by the persevering endeavours of those exemplary and laborious men. After the convulsion of the civilized world, occasioned by the universal dominion of the Roman emperors, the consequent abuse of despotism and arbitrary power, the monks rendered the most essential services to the cause of humanity, religion, and science, by forming themselves into societies or associations, which enabled them, by mutually administering to each other's wants, and leading a single life, entirely devoted to the service of the community, to keep alive the seeds of learning and religion ; whilst the generality of mankind, in consequence of the lawless and unsettled state of the world, were immersed in ignorance, barbarity, vice, and their concomitant evils.

These men, separated from the people, and therefore not so much exposed to the general contagion, chiefly occupied their time in discharging the religious duties peculiar to the monastic profession, and in cultivating the ground ; that they might be in a condition not only to maintain themselves, but also to perform the rights of hospitality, and other acts of beneficence, calculated to relieve the distresses and calamities incident to those unhappy times. Some portion of it however was dedicated to study, and copying the best originals, both sacred and profane, which, without their exertions, would have been lost to the literary world. They, moreover, afforded an asylum to secular men, disposed to pursue the career of knowledge, as well as to youth, whom they instructed in learning, religion, and morals, within the precincts of the cloister. Is it matter of wonder, then, that a body of men, so eminently useful, so attentive to cultivate and preserve the sciences, to promote the arts by the erection of superb and magnificent buildings, and to convert, by their labour and perseverance, immense tracts of waste and desert land into fertile and highly cultivated districts, should, in a short time, acquire uncommon influence ; and that at a season when the virtues of economy, application, and industry, were little known ? Certainly not ; and accordingly, their prosperity and success were prodigiously rapid. This naturally resulted from these exertions, aided by the munificence of

princes, and the liberal piety of wealthy individuals, who made over to these institutions considerable possessions, sometimes for the support of the monks themselves, to enable them to discharge certain religious functions, but more generally for the instruction and edification of mankind, and for the benefit and assistance of the poor. In all these cases, the property was to be rigidly and scrupulously applied, according to the will and intention of the donors, who reasonably presumed that a society formed by its constitution and profession to survive the shock of ages, was better entitled to this trust than individual executors, who could not ensure, after death, the fulfilment of their pious intentions.

At length, when by all these means, the monastic establishments had accumulated immense wealth, they were marked out as a prey for the cupidity and rapacity of the great; who began to seize on their estates; sometimes under the specious pretence of defending their rights; at other times by downright plunder. Kings and princes remunerated their favourites and minions out of these funds, and laid their sacrilegious hands on possessions destined for the support of the poor—*patrimonio pauperum*,—for the erection of christian temples, and for the purchase of books and sacred utensils for religious worship. This kind of extortion seems to have been sanctioned and countenanced at an early period. We find Hugh Capet, the

founder of the third race of the French dynasty, to have been styled Hugh l'Abbe, or the Abbot, on account of the great number of abbeys and monastic property occupied by him, under various titles.

When the monks first settled, and cultivated a piece of waste land, which they rendered extremely productive by continual labour, they did not foresee that their labour and rigid economy would expose them to the brutal cupidity of the great and powerful; from whom, in addition to their own private acquisitions, they received daily accessions to their original stock. But, alas! from being objects of respect and veneration, as they had hitherto been, this accumulation of wealth contributed to relax the monastic discipline, by the introduction of splendid and luxurious living, which lessened, in the eyes of the people, the respect and esteem they had justly merited by their former temperance, privations, self-denial, and devotedness to the interests of humanity.

These monks, after the lapse of a few generations, neglected the means by which their authority and power was to be secured. They forgot the toils and abstemiousness of the first monks, and thought themselves equally entitled to enjoy the fruits of their revenues, as if they had succeeded to them by inheritance or purchase. This was particularly the case with the

great abbots and monastic prelates; some of whom, in consequence of lands called fiefs, possessed by them as vassals, under a feudal tenure, were obliged to furnish their lords paramount with their contingents of military men, and also command them in the field. It may be easily supposed that such abbots, no longer subject to the yoke and discipline of a monastic life, had very little feeling for the other monks. They had a sumptuous abbatial table, and magnificent palace, separate from the monastery, contrary to the rule and institutions of the primitive founders of the cenobitical profession. St. Basil and Benedict, like simple monks, performed the conventual duties, and conformed to the community. And, notwithstanding the scandals caused by the depravity and pride of some regular prelates, many communities were remarkable for strictly maintaining their respective statutes and rules. Many individual members, in the most ignorant ages, exhibited themselves most able defenders of the Church of which they were the greatest luminaries.

Whoever takes the trouble to review the annals of past times, will be easily convinced of the services rendered by those learned and indefatigable monks, not only to religion, but to the cause of general literature, particularly in history; notwithstanding the calumnies and unprincipled aggressions of modern scholiasts, who would refuse to that society not

only the merit of learning, but even the attributes of men. The works of the venerable Bede, St. Bernard, and St. Thomas, though written in times confessedly reputed the most unenlightened of any former or subsequent period, are written in a clear intelligible style, not devoid of elegance, solidity, or depth of judgment. Yet these are the men whom some pretenders to superior refinement, brand with infamy, and every opprobrious epithet. In this, as in many other cases, we have a most striking instance of human ingratitude: persons who have rendered signal benefits to learning and the fine arts, are accused of having disgraced them by their ignorance and gothic taste; yet, had it not been for the exertions of the Roman monks, St. Augustine and his companions, this country would certainly have been a long time destitute of the blessings of science and true religion. Those learned monks introduced into this island the Christian faith; and the Latin language as connected with it, together with the principles of civilization and moral refinement. Shortly after their introduction, seats of learning, religious houses, and temples for divine worship, were erected to secure the advantages of religious and literary instruction. If this had not happened, there would have been neither laws nor any other salutary institution. The great Alfred, the legislator, instructor and deliverer of his country, would, perhaps, be little known, had not his inter-

course with enlightened monks, both in Rome and this country, enabled him to contrive and execute his plans of justice and beneficence. When the country was harassed and despoiled by the Danes, and other barbarians; when every vestige of learning and the arts was almost exterminated in many parts of the country by the periodical inroads of these marauders, some of those repositories of science escaped, and preserved the sacred deposit; yet, in our days, there is nothing so common as loud outcries against monks.—But of this enough.

We must consider that all human establishments are liable to degenerate and swerve from their original institutions. The monks were not exempted from this common fate of other bodies. Of this they were very well aware, and tried often to introduce salutary reforms. The Cistercians, in particular, were a reformed society of the Benedictine order. In later times, both monks, prelates, and secular priests, in consequence of the general relaxation, indolence, and indifference caused by opulence, neglected the discharge of their respective duties.

A new order of monks sprung up, not known before, under the name of Mendicant Friars; some of whom, from a consciousness of the bad effects of too much wealth, professed the strictest poverty, not admitting property even in com-

mon, or the receipt of any money. They lived solely on the voluntary contributions of the faithful. These evangelical men, chiefly of the order of St. Francis, contributed very much, at that season of universal neglect and inobservance, to raise the spirit of religion. Hence Machiavelli, treating on the necessity in a state of bringing things back to their first principles, in order to cause it to prosper, adduces the example of the advantages that accrued to the Church from the austerity and disinterestedness of the Mendicant orders, which counterbalanced the luxury and pride of potent bishops, and other rich ecclesiastics. Much the same idea has been expressed by an ancient Roman writer, on a similar occasion, where he says, "*omne imperium facile retinetur iis artibus quibus initio paratum est.*" Every sovereignty is easily maintained by those means whereby it has been originally acquired. The spiritual dominion had been gained principally by the exemplary lives of its first teachers and professors; which, if their successors mean to retain entire, they must certainly practise the same methods, notwithstanding the superior austerity, stricter discipline, and poverty, of the new Mendicant order. We must not pretend to ascribe to those men a perfect renovation of the Hierarchy, or general state of Christendom. They have been useful, it is true, in their activity and zeal in teaching, exhorting, and administering the sacraments; in assisting the parochial clergy, and even dissemi-

nating the gospel in Mahometan and infidel countries; a practice that had been intermitted for some time, in consequence of the general relaxation that had taken place among the regular and secular clergy. But, notwithstanding all those laudable and meritorious functions, it would be unreasonable to expect those men could preserve themselves from the contagion of the times, and the influence of human passions. They sprung up in an age that still laboured under many mental and political disadvantages. The literary world, however, seemed to bid fair for soon emerging from that state of ignorance to which it had so long been subject; though, unfortunately, the sciences generally cultivated at that time in the schools, or *universities*, as seats of general learning began to be then called, were not much calculated to disperse the thick mist of prejudice, or improve the understanding. The attention of those who had been appointed to teach the sciences in the new schools, was for the most part unhappily directed to the study of the Aristotelian logic, ethics, and other branches of a false philosophy. These works had been communicated through a Latin medium, or translation from the Arabic, when even the original, though well understood, could not be an object of such important disquisition. For the Greeks, with all their taste, brilliancy of imagination, and acumen, were never admired for their philosophic precision, depth of thought,

or solidity of argument. Mankind were yet wholly ignorant of those just *regulæ philosophandi*, which Bacon laid down, and to the observance of which, the vast superiority of modern learning over that of the ancients, is unquestionably owing. Bad as it was, however, the new Mendicant orders were the foremost in cultivating this species of learning. Investigations of so puzzling and quibbling a nature diverted their attention from the pursuit of more serious and profitable objects, such as the study of the Scriptures, the Fathers, Church History, Canons and Councils. The method of teaching theology was altered. The most obvious propositions were reduced to the syllogistic form, with a number of supposed arguments for and against them, wherein they proceeded to fabricate different systems of doctrines, both in philosophy and divinity. Hence sprung the champions of the schools, the promoters of scholastic studies, to the great detriment of the advancement of true science and harmony among the polemical litigants, who sometimes overheated themselves in the defence of their respective systems; witness the violent altercations and long agitated debates between the Scotists and Thomists. Yet those scholastic disputes did not often proceed to acts of violence or open hostility. They did not even violate the universally acknowledged doctrines of the Church. They were both equally clamorous in contending for the rights or pretensions of the Court of Rome, against the rights of

princes, bishops, and other rulers. They also tried to bring into repute and popularity all those privileges granted to them by the same court. Hence their constant practice of extolling indulgences, and every thing that would contribute to extend the influence and temporal power of their spiritual lord and protector, by whom they were particularly favoured, in consequence of the nature of their institution, and professed attachment and devotion to the Holy See. Hence, too, on account of their known fidelity, address, and talents, they were often commissioned to transact business of high civil and spiritual importance, in the courts of secular princes; and they were soon promoted to prelacies and the first dignities of the Church. Sixtus Quintus, who had been a Mendicant himself, of the Franciscan order, ordained there should be constantly in the Sacred College, a Cardinal from each of the four Mendicant orders; but this ordinance has not been kept up.

Most of the religious orders had a house or convent in Rome, where their principal or procurator-general resided; so that they had always a free communication with that Court; which enabled them to profit by the dispensations and privileges obtained there, by communicating them to their constituents in the different provinces. This close connexion with the Roman Court rendered them obnoxious to the bishops and secular clergy, particularly in France, where the national

clergy were extremely vigilant to prevent the slightest approaches of papal encroachment on their civil or spiritual rights. Hence the frequent disputes of the Sorbonne, aided by the Parliaments; for in those assemblies, also, were persons well versed in the canon and civil laws, with the Popes, and the establishment of the inquisition, for which the friars demonstrated too much zeal. Their active interference in causing the laws of that iniquitous tribunal to be put in execution, in a peculiar manner, deservedly exposed the Mendicants to public detestation. It never was a tenet of the Catholic Church, to establish her doctrines by fire and sword, nor by any other kind of violence; though some of the Roman Pontiffs, instigated by the selfish passions of avarice and resentment, encouraged and permitted this dreadful engine of political and religious tyranny. It was also countenanced and supported by some princes; who, from their shallow conceptions of the science of government, and their natural imbecility, had recourse to this miserable expedient. But it must not be supposed that Catholic princes exclusively exercised this horrid and barbarous practice. It is but too well known that Protestant kings have made use of spies and informers to detect those whose religious opinions might have been obnoxious to the court or reigning religion; hence the massacre of many Catholic ecclesiastics. Whether they had their purpose effected by the instrumentality of a

tribunal termed Inquisition, or by an Act of Parliament, does not surely increase or diminish the atrocity of such proceedings. I repeat it: the forwardness displayed by the friars in this diabolical business brought great odium on them in those countries which were under the jurisdiction of the papal Court. It was totally rejected in most of the Catholic States; and reprobated by all sound and respectable theologians, who knew that a doctrine not sanctioned by the authority of Christ, but disavowed by him and condemned by the fathers, could never, by the mere authority of any human power, become an article of faith or rule of conduct. For it has always been the invariable doctrine of the Church, that no rule or opinion could bind the faithful, which had not been previously recommended by the following test, so aptly expressed by Vincent of Lerins: *quod ubique quod semper quod ab omnibus creditum est*. To give any doctrine practical authority, the belief of it must have been constant and universal in regard to time, place, and persons; which is not the case with the Inquisition, for it wants all these conditions. It has not been a prevalent doctrine every where always, and embraced by the generality of the faithful. But more of this elsewhere.

Another cause that contributed very much to the depression of the Mendicant orders was their inattention to polite learning. They neglected to cultivate Greek and Roman literature

in those branches, from which alone they could hope to derive real benefit and instruction. Viewed as metaphysical inquirers, the productions of these nations are of little importance; but, regarded as orators, historians, and poets, they exhibit the finest models of taste and genius which the mind of man has hitherto been able to draw. Disregard to the study of classical learning was certainly a most unaccountable blunder, at a period when many individuals among the most distinguished of the laity for birth and character, as also many of the secular clergy, began to apply themselves to the cultivation of it with considerable success; particularly in Italy, where the mendicants were numerous, and had even gained consequence before that period. But they would not open their eyes to the light that began to diffuse itself on every side. It was in vain that the Italian wits and literati sought by exposing their ignorance to turn their attention to solid and useful studies: they should at least have benefited by the warning, whether it came from friends or enemies; but they still continued to follow the steps of their scholastic guides, with a scrupulous attention not to innovate or improve, blindly attached to the opinions delivered by preceding teachers, whom they had designated under the high-sounding titles of *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, *Doctor Subtillis*, *Doctor Angelicus*, *Doctor Seraphicus*, &c. They thought it sufficient if they could illustrate, preserve, and ex-

pound, the doctrines and philosophy of those great names ; though they had long lost their influence among the learned, and were only known on the shelves of the convent libraries. This delusion continued, not only until the revival of learning in Italy and France, but even to our own times, as any one may have seen who has travelled into Catholic countries, or read their publications. This inferiority in point of classical and elegant literature became an object of triumph to such of the first reformers as prided themselves on their erudition ; especially the German scholars, on whom the light, reflected from beyond the Alps, began to have some influence, to stimulate their torpid dispositions to a little mental energy. Some few of them began to relish and peruse the works of the Italian scholars, and were not a little pleased at the sarcasms on the monks, which they alleged as sufficient authority to exterminate all monastic institutions ; though their masters never attempted to advance any such opinions. Those German scholars, manifested their pedantic affectation, by metamorphosing their barbarous Teutonic names into Roman, by making them terminate in *us*, as *Buckius*, *Brosius* ; and by assuming Latin names, that expressed the signification of their national German. Yet with all this affectation of elegant scholarship, their Latin composition was wretched and despicable. None of them could be compared to Sadoletti, Bembo, Strada, Vida, or the other

Italian scholars, who did not think themselves justified to impugn the doctrines of the Church, because the priests did not write classical Latin. Their countryman Erasmus was almost the only man among them that distinguished himself for purity of style or real learning; and though he reprobates the ignorance of the mendicants, and their professed and decided aversion to literary improvement, and the patrons of it, yet he did not take such a decided part against the Latins as to cause him to be ranked among the reformers of the sixteenth century.

We should not lose sight of another cause that contributed in an eminent degree to bring those orders into disrepute; I mean their numbers, and condescension in admitting candidates to the religious profession, without any choice, or much regard to their proficiency in learning, moral character, or standing in society. This was especially in the order of St. Francis, where an absurd opinion had been cherished and entertained, that the more numerous the friars were, the more abundantly they should be supported. In consequence of this notion, that order became extremely numerous; and the receptacle of many persons ill calculated to promote the cause of learning or religion. The other orders were also become very numerous; as they were also anxious to increase their numbers, for which they had sufficient means; for they both possessed property

and enjoyed the privilege of begging in common with the Franciscans. It is not then to be wondered at, that a society which had been so widely dispersed in town and country, and been so little reserved in its intercourse with seculars, did not meet with that degree of veneration they would be entitled to, if they had been less numerous, more retired, better chosen, and consequently more learned and respectable. By this indiscriminate reception of every body, they became a burden and a nuisance to the Church, and the great dishonour of the hierarchy, which gave rise to many complaints and subsequent restrictions. But notwithstanding these inconveniences, the natural result of neglect in ecclesiastical and civil superiors, to regulate their numbers and determine the qualifications requisite for becoming members of religious communities, and forcing them to the observance of statutes, it is unfair to blame the institution itself, as it might be made subservient to good purposes, provided those intrusted with the high and important charge of directing the energies and powers of the different orders to the improvement of general society, were vigilant in their posts, and caused them to fulfil their respective engagements and professions.

As the mendicant orders owe their establishment to the neglect and indolence of the secular clergy, and ancient monastic establishments, so another order, partaking of the privileges

and advantages of the other three, sprung up from the exigencies of the times. These are the regular clergy, or priests: *Clerici regulares—chierici Regolari*. This society divided into various congregations under different founders, engagements, and institutions. Some were bound down by solemn monastic vows, others by simple promises; but all of them partook of the benefit of monks, because they could possess property as a regular body corporate; and they enjoyed the privileges of mendicants, because they might have recourse to begging. They likewise were at liberty to use the immunities of secular priests, inasmuch as they were exempted from reciting or singing the service in choir. They also dressed much in the manner of secular priests. Those who made solemn vows were the Theatines,* Barnabites,† Jesuits, Somaschi, Scolopians, or teachers of pious schools, and a few more. Those who made only simple vows were of the following congregations:— Philip de Neri, of the oratory, a society that has produced many eminently learned men; Vincent, of the missions; St. Lazarus, of the foreign missions; and St. Sulpicius, for the education of young ecclesiastics. Most of these

* This regular order was founded by St. Cajetan, of Thiene; and Caraffa, bishop of Theate, afterwards Pope Paul IV., having been their first superior, they took their name from thence.

† So called from the Church of Milan, which they were permitted to use, and which was dedicated to St. Barnabas.

different congregations or associations sprung up to counteract the various divisions that ensued after the period of the Reformation; and these new ecclesiastical militia have proved themselves a valuable acquisition to the service of the Church, by their zeal and exemplary conduct, the dignity of their general deportment, and their personal respectability and learning.

In this place it was thought necessary to present to the reader a short sketch of the rise, decay, reformation, innate resources, and economy of the different religious and monastic establishments, which have acted so distinguished a part in the annals of the Catholic Church. It is not pretended to prove that these societies, at least many of the individual members of them, were actuated on every occasion by the principles of their original institutions; because, notwithstanding the eminent purity and even sanctity of the religious profession, they were not, as has already been remarked, exempt from the imperfections incident to human nature; and they were also liable to be infected by the failings and prejudices of their contemporaries. Wealth and honours must also have had great influence on their conduct, no less than the prevailing opinions of the day respecting politics, philosophy, and even theology; which latter has afforded a wide field for controversy at all times, especially in a Church that allows such extensive scope for debate on many subjects

she has never thought proper to define as articles of faith. On all these occasions, it was natural that the monks, like all other men, should be biassed by the same common propensities. Who could be so unreasonable as to expect they would not? Yet their superiors have been sometimes vigilant to remove abuses, and reform and alter the statutes, when they saw degeneracy and corruption prevail, as happened so often among the Benedictines. Hence to this very day so many different and independent congregations of that illustrious order. We have also remarked that the mendicant orders themselves, that sprung up a long time after the establishment of the ancient monkish institutions, were no more, properly speaking, than a reformed branch of the latter. Though they did not spring immediately from them, they followed the most essential points of the regular profession.

We have pointed out the many disadvantages the mendicants had to encounter, from the political and literary condition of the age, from their neglect of polite literature, and from their overgrown numbers, which of itself would have been sufficient to expose them to the contempt of the people. These, however, were only adventitious inconveniences. The spirit and intention of the regular institutions were good and laudable. The individuals that composed them, originally at least, had been induced to lead a monastic

life from the purest and most disinterested motives—the good of mankind and the glory of God. As then those great bodies were professedly devoted to the service of God and the benefit of the human race, the guardians of the public weal, both civil and ecclesiastical, ought to have corrected the abuses prevailing in them, and have established rules for their prevention in future. There have always been enlightened men, conversant in the canon and Roman law, and well acquainted with the exigencies of society, who, if they had united with the prelates to effect a reformation in the convents, would, unquestionably have rendered the monks, instead of a burden and a nuisance to society, an honour and an ornament to the Church and their country. Had princes and rulers, in conjunction with the priesthood, really attempted this task, nobody would certainly have accused them of usurping a power that did not belong to them. They would, on the contrary, have been praised for their exertions; but, unfortunately for the Church and humanity, abuses were suffered to accumulate without the interference of due authority. At last, when the civil powers did interfere, it was for the purpose of seizing their property, rather than of directing their efforts to the service of the community. Their object was destruction, not reformation. But, though those who possessed power, and were, on that account, the persons best fitted to effect reformation in the monasteries, neglected the duty at-

tached to their station, the abuses which reigned in the conventual system, did not escape the attention of many zealous and enlightened churchmen. The prodigious accumulation of monks which took place in later ages, has frequently been a subject of deep and serious regret. St. Bernard, a monk, a reformer of monks, and the founder of several monasteries, often expressed his sorrow and disapprobation of their enormous increase, and loudly censured the imprudence and danger of imposing religious obligations on persons who were never intended to perform them. He says, what is true :—" *rara est in terris pudicitia* ." chastity is very uncommon among men ; and the same may be said of most of the virtues necessary to support the austerities and privations of a monastic life. If these qualities, then, be so rare, why pretend to impose them on such multitudes ? It never was intended by the Deity that men whose talents and propensities were clearly suited to the common duties of the world, should withdraw themselves from general society, solely for his spiritual service. But, though St. Bernard disapproved of the great increase of monks, and exclaimed with the prophet Isaiah, "*Multiplicasti gentem sed non magnificasti letitiam*," he never thought of totally suppressing monastic institutions. He knew how beneficial they might prove to the community, if properly controlled and directed. He was aware that much good might be derived to the State

from the labours of a body of men who had no secular attachments, but were solely devoted to the service of God and their fellow creatures. This is not a solitary or strange opinion. Many eminent and learned men have been of the same sentiment. Lord Bacon says, that more good is to be expected from single men than others; and instances the monuments of beneficence left by persons of that description in this country, most of whom were of the monastic order, or at least tied down to celibacy. The same great man also allows that body of men, particularly the Jesuits, uncommon abilities in conducting the studies of youth in colleges and public schools. It is a great pity then, that governors and rulers have not tried to direct such engines to laudable purposes; but the world is so full of inconsistencies that we are no longer surprised at any thing. Means might surely be devised to diminish their number, and yet secure their usefulness to the state; but this is a matter on which it hardly becomes a Protestant writer to dictate; though the same liberal spirit which influenced the zeal of the late Bishop of Elphin to make good Catholics of those whom he found it impossible to convert to Protestantism, might be usefully employed in giving wholesome advice, even to an enemy. Acting upon this principle, our Catholic neighbours might be recommended to admit to their orders only men of talents, honour, and virtue, which under their present regulations cannot be the case. Some-

thing of a similar nature should be adopted before conferring the order of priesthood on those who are not engaged by monastic vows; these also being, in some countries, much too numerous, and, consequently, liable to the same objections. The qualifications required of them previous to ordination are, a patrimony, more or less, according to the country—a benefice, chaplainship, or some other church employment; but many of these worthy ecclesiastics, it may be presumed, are not much better qualified than poor Gil Perez.

The remedy proposed, besides merely reducing the number, and furnishing the community with a class of useful men, would also promote the interests of real religion. In those countries that are most deluged with friars, the people are generally the most vicious, superstitious, and ignorant; as every person who has travelled in Spain, Portugal, or Italy, must have remarked. This should not be attributed to the natural depravity of those nations, which are generally allowed to surpass many others in goodness and humanity, as is evident from the conduct of those whose condition renders them proof against the dangers and evils of bad example. In former times, all who felt for the honour and dignity of the Church, all who had any sense of order and propriety, and were interested in the amelioration of society, continually deplored the disorders originating in the abuse

of the monkish establishments; but the prospect of being able to effect a salutary reform appeared very unpromising. There were too many difficulties to encounter, arising principally from the disagreement of the secular and ecclesiastical rulers. The superiors of the religious orders were determined, let the consequences be what they would, to maintain their old system of government, their privileges and usages, without paying any attention to the great alterations that had been effected in the public opinion since the foundation of their respective orders.

When St. Francis established his order, his plan and regulations were founded on the principles of wisdom and prudence.* At that time, churchmen of all descriptions, were enervated by the excess of riches, which necessarily exposed them to the vices incident to high life. The pleasures of the table, the sports of the field, the allurements of luxury and sensuality, were all indulged without restraint. The establishment

* "The brothers or sisters, that are to be received to this order, ought to be faithful Catholiques, not tyed to matrimony, free from debts, sound in body, prompt in minde, not touched with any publicke infamie, recõciled to their neighbour; and before their admittance they are to be diligently examined of these things, by those that have power to receive them." *The Role of Penance of the Seraphical Father S. Francis.* By Br. Angelus, Friar Minor. DOVAY, 1644."

of an order founded on the injunctions of our Lord to his disciples, when he says: "provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat," was, under these circumstances, highly proper. St. Francis built an edifice extremely well calculated to be beneficial to mankind, had his successors entirely followed the essential part of his regulations. He, no doubt, intended his followers should be abstemious and moderate in all their appetites, but he likewise intended that they should labour with their hands for their subsistence, and serve the public in spiritual matters almost gratuitously. Instead, however, of observing those wise and benevolent rules, they attached themselves more particularly to the observance of the most rigid poverty, and a superstitious adherence to the coarseness and form of the habit, particularly to the figure of the *Capuce*, which became the cause of many divisions, and finally occasioned the separation of the society into three distinct and independent orders, besides other subdivisions, with particular statutes.

Had these good brothers only considered the principal objects of their institution—the service of God, their own salvation, and the general good of society, they certainly would have seen the absurdity of seizing the shadow for the substance. Charity might easily have dictated to

them, not to fall out among themselves; and justice might have suggested to them the propriety of being as little burdensome as possible to the community, especially as their situation bore so little analogy to that of the Apostles; who, in consequence of their evangelical labours, were justly entitled to support; but the friars, at least in those countries where they had been so enormously multiplied, had no such labours to perform. The vineyard was already too full of workmen, even to the detriment of the vintage. They should, therefore, have endeavoured to acquire an honest independence, by their mental and manual exertions, and not have thrown themselves upon the charity of the public. For this very object they were divided into two classes, priests and lay brothers: the one destined to perform the duties of religion, and to diffuse theological knowledge; whilst the other was occupied in the menial services of the community. By this happy union of religion and science with the mechanical arts or labour, they might have employed their talents to real advantage, and not have subjected themselves to any obligation to others for their support. They might have been in a condition to have assisted the poor and infirm, instead of encroaching, as they have done, upon their indubitable rights.

If those religious ever mean to recover their

ancient dignity, they must, undoubtedly, endeavour to become useful to society; and this is to be effected only by conforming themselves to the spirit of the times, and the present more improved state of society, without paying so much attention to the trifling circumstances already mentioned. The more important considerations of public and private utility, the advancement of religion, science, and good order, should prevail before all others. Indeed, in the present age, such has been the change which has taken place in the public mind, that the observance of the old practices are perfectly out of season. Who, for example, can derive any benefit or gratification from the partial nudity—tonsurage—the uncouth and barbarous appearance of a Spanish Franciscan? The very sight would suffice to indispose many, not only against the individual, but against religious orders in general; and, perhaps, indeed, excite antipathy to the Catholic Church itself, as suffering and encouraging a system of vandalism.

From these observations on monachism, it will be observed, that while I am well aware of the present wretched condition of the cenobitical system, I have, nevertheless, a firm conviction, that in countries where Catholicism is the prevailing religion, these fraternities of men might easily be converted into sources of na-

tional usefulness.* If instead of making age, and pious pretensions, tests for the religious profession, real demonstrable merit were required, those disorders that now prevail would soon cease. No one should be admitted who cannot acquire by his talents an honourable independence in the world. It was an attention to such qualifications that rendered the French clergy so superior to all others on the continent, and enabled them to support the dignity of the sacerdotal character with suitable propriety. Their learning, urbanity, and strict adherence to the principles of decorum, afforded them the means of rendering themselves both useful and acceptable in foreign countries during their exile and dispersion, whereas their mere character of priesthood or religious profession, would have availed them nothing.

Of the truth of the opinion I have now stated, America furnishes an excellent example. A few gentlemen of the congregation of St. Sulpicius, who were fortunate enough to escape the horrors of the French revolution, and save a little remnant of their property, took refuge in the United States, and established themselves at Baltimore, where,

* Little ought to be calculated on the devastations which Bonaparte has rapaciously made on the Peninsula, among the religious orders and establishments.

conformably to their profession, they engaged themselves in communicating religious and literary information. In the beginning, their labours were confined to the instruction of young men destined for the Church; but the candidates for priesthood being few in that country, they afterwards admitted respectable persons of every description to the participation of the advantages afforded by their institution. Such as profess the Catholic communion are regularly instructed in the doctrines and practices peculiar to their Church; whilst the Protestants are merely obliged to attend the places of worship to which they respectively belong. By this impartial and equitable line of conduct, proper discipline, and a strict attention to their professional duties, they have founded one of the most respectable literary establishments of the present day. Their course of education is not limited to the study of Greek and Latin literature, philosophy, and different branches of the mathematics; it comprehends also the liberal and ornamental arts; such as drawing, music, botany, natural history, and the living languages. Besides these advantages, that may be considered as purely local and academical, the benefits of this college are extended to the whole country. The inhabitants of Baltimore and its vicinity are particularly benefited by the residence of these worthy ecclesiastics; for notwithstanding their principal occupation consists in the discharge of their professional duties, they do not neglect the culti-

vation of those arts which are subservient to the comforts of life. They have a large portion of land sufficient to furnish their numerous community with abundance of fruit and vegetables of every kind; and they have naturalized many exotics; indeed, a great number of the productions of the West India Islands, and that without any shelter or artificial heat. In their green and hot houses they raise such plants as cannot thrive in the open air, for the purpose of botanical improvement, and the benefit of the curious. They have also erected an elegant little church, in the most ancient style of architecture. Thus they contribute to diffuse a taste for the fine arts in that country; at the same time that the labouring and industrious parts of the community are benefited by finding employment under them.

Against such establishments as we have been endeavouring to characterize, were the efforts of the early Reformers principally directed. With a zeal not always guided by knowledge or prudence, they levelled all distinctions: a monk became only another word for deceit, superstition, or wickedness;* and those who had long found it difficult to observe the rigid vows which

* " Quien dice Frayle dice Fraude."—He who says *Friar* says *Fraud*—is a punning proverb used to this day among Spaniards.

they had imposed upon themselves, easily imbibed the most inveterate prejudices against the austerities and mortifications which the Reformers endeavoured to abolish. In the end, an enlightened and daring policy relieved one half of Christendom from the thralldom of religious abjurations, unsocial seclusions, unnatural restraints, and many ridiculous superstitions; though that these ends could not have been accomplished without a total abolition of such societies as have just been described, is a matter by no means clear.

SECTION VII.

Sketch of the Origin of the Reformation in Germany.

THIS is, perhaps, the most difficult, because the most delicate, point, of the whole Catholic history. It is hardly possible to touch upon it, without incurring the risk of giving offence to one or other, perhaps, both, of the two great bodies into which the Christian world has been divided by that event. Nor is it easy to exhibit the subject in any new point of view. The facts, however, being well known, there will be less occasion to enlarge.

It is not intended, in this section, to trace the

progress of the Reformation in the various countries where it has been received. Neither do I pretend to give any farther history of that great event than is absolutely needful to connect the striking lineaments of this portrait.

We have already seen the ill use which was made of the promulgation of Indulgences ; and the ground it afforded on which to attack, with advantage, the Church and Court of Rome. This attack commenced in the year 1517. Martin Luther, a friar of the Augustine Order, first opened the warfare ; and his conduct was very generally approved by the people ; by some princes, bishops, divines, cardinals, and even by several monks. Making common cause, as he pretended, with the friends of literature, he attached to his standard numerous learned and intelligent men. Even Erasmus, perhaps, the most profoundly learned man of the age, once entertained a favourable opinion of Luther's principles. He, at first, believed that Almighty God had raised him up to reform the Church ; but his opinion of our Reformer changed, when he perceived that it was not only against abuses, but even against the very vitals of the Church, that he meditated a serious attack. The rashness and precipitation of Luther but ill accorded with the mild and moderate views of Erasmus ; and though he complained, that Luther's adversaries loaded him with calumnies, instead of answering his arguments ; and that

they cried him down as a heretic, instead of amending their own manners, he could never reconcile his mind to the war which Luther waged with what was deemed the fundamental doctrines of religion. The moderation of Erasmus displeased both parties, and he was loaded with every opprobrious epithet an enraged bigotry could suggest.

On the 30th September, 1517, Luther delivered ninety-five propositions, in which he censured, in the boldest manner, the extravagant conduct and extortions of the papal commissioners for the sale of Indulgences. These propositions were promulgated at Wittemberg, at the college in which he was a doctor. Ignorant of a stipulation made between Leo X. and Albert of Brandenburg, by which the latter should retain one half of the profits arising from these indulgences, Luther addressed a letter of remonstrance to this elector; but, as might naturally have been supposed, no regard was paid to his complaints. Exasperated by this neglect, he next published to the world the Propositions he had read in the Church of Wittemberg. They contained many censures on the Pope himself, but were rendered as palatable as possible by repeated expressions of obedience to the papal authority and the doctrines and decisions of the Church.

On the first appearance of these Propositions,

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Tetzel, the principal vender of the Indulgences by the appointment of the elector of Mentz, endeavoured to defend a traffic in which he had so much personal interest. To effect this purpose, he published a set of counter-Propositions, and then publicly burned those by Luther. The friends of Luther, in the same spirit of destruction, rejoined, by burning eight hundred copies of Tetzel's Propositions in one of the public squares of Wittenberg. This conduct Luther had the moderation or good sense to lament; and he affirmed, that it was adopted without his knowledge.

Among the opponents of Luther, at this early stage of the schism, we may notice Johannes Eccius, and Silvestro Prierio. The one was Vice-Chancellor of Ingoldstadt, and the other Master of the Apostolic Palace and Inquisitor-General. The attacks of these writers against the innovating spirit of Luther, were made in a manner but little calculated to effect the purposes for which they were intended; and he did not fail to describe his opponents as liars and blasphemers, engaged in the service of the devil; asserting, at the same time, that if the Pope and his cardinals should give their support to such doctrines as were maintained in the books of Prierio, Rome itself must be the seat of Antichrist.

Leo X., confiding in the professions of Lu-

ther, who had declared to him, " that he would regard whatever came from him as delivered by Christ himself," took no immediate steps to curb the zeal of the Reformers; nor to remove the cause of their just complaints. At length, however, the indolent Pontiff roused from his danger; and, in 1518, he summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome, within sixty days; there to answer the questions which should be proposed to him by Prierio, his virulent opponent.

It required no extraordinary degree of penetration to perceive what must be the issue of a trial, wherein the judge and the plaintiff were one and the same person. Accordingly, Luther made sufficient interest to have his cause heard in Germany. Tomaso de Vio, Cardinal of Gaeta, the Pope's legate at the diet of Augsburg, was empowered to summon Luther before him; and, if he should persist in his errors, to hold him in custody till further instructions should be sent from Rome. It was of small consequence to Luther, whether his cause should be heard before the prejudiced and interested Prierio at Rome, or by the equally interested Dominican Cardinal of Gaeta, in Germany. Whatever might have been the lenient principles at first cherished by the Pope, this precipitate and rash determination gave great and just cause of offence to Luther and his friends. No alternative, however, remained; and Luther, having

obtained, with great difficulty and delay, a safe-conduct from the Emperor, repaired to Augsburg.* Previously, however, to this, and after the Pope had sent his monitory to the Cardinal of Gaeta, a power had been delegated to that cardinal, to hear his defence; and, in case of penitence and submission, again to receive him to the communion of the faithful.

The accounts given of the behaviour of the cardinal at this celebrated conference, on which, indeed, depended the fate of the Reformation, are various and contradictory. Fra. Paolo † says, that “ after a convenient conference upon the controverted doctrine, the cardinal, having discovered that, by terms of school-divinity, in the profession of which himself was most excellent, Martin could not be convinced that he always served himself of the Holy Scripture, which is used but a little by the school-men, declared that he would dispute no more with him, but exhorted him to a retraction; or, at least, to submit his books and doctrine to the judgment of the Pope;

* In fact, the safe-conduct was not obtained till Luther had been arrived at Augsburg some days, and he had repeatedly refused to appear before the Cardinal without it.

† History of the Council of Trent, p. 7. Sir R. Brent's translation.

shewing him the danger he was in if he persisted, and promising him favours and benefits from his Holiness if he yielded. Martin not answering to the contrary, he thought it not fit to wring from him a negative, by pressing him too much, but rather to give space, that the threats and promises might take impression; and, therefore, gave him leave to depart for that time."

On this statement of Father Paul's, Dr. Robertson, in an early edition of his *Reign of Charles V.*, asserted, that the Cardinal of Gaeta thought it beneath his dignity to enter into any dispute with Luther; but, it seems, M. Beausobre,* and Seckendorf,† convinced the Doctor of his mistake. Yet it does not appear, even from Fra. Paolo's account, but that the Cardinal *did* enter into a dispute with Luther; and that he did not at first resort to the authority with which he was invested, of demanding from this unbending Reformer, a prompt and decided obedience to the decision of the Church. And it should be particularly remarked, that hitherto Luther had professed his unreserved submission to the Pope, and the doctrines of the Catholic Faith. The Cardinal had a right to consider, that he was admonishing a mistaken brother,

* *Histoire de la Reformation*, vol. i. p. 121. et seq.

† *Com. Lib.* i. p. 46, et seq.

rather than conferring with a decided enemy ; and this view of the matter will go very far towards justifying " the high tone of authority," which, it appears, he used on that occasion. The question is not whether the Church had any right to these assumptions, but whether Luther, professing himself an obedient son of the Church, and willing, as he pretended, to submit to whatever she should command, had any right to complain, when the Cardinal of Gaeta demanded unqualified submission. A reference to the Scriptures, under these circumstances, could have very little weight, unless he had shewn that the Church put the same sense on those Scriptures as he himself had done ; and this, it will not be disputed, he might have done.

Encouraged by several powerful and determined patrons, Luther contemned the authority of the legate ; and refused to make any concessions, or to violate his conscience, as he termed it, by disavowing what he knew to be the truth. He yielded, however, so far as to consent that his opinions should be submitted to such universities as he should name ; and promised in future to desist from impugning the discipline of Indulgences, provided his adversaries were likewise to be silent concerning them.* I

* Luther Oper. vol. i. p. 160. in Rob. Charles V. vol. i. p. 246.

hazard nothing in asserting, that were the spirit and genius of the Catholic religion but half so sanguinary and cruel as some Protestants have been induced to believe, Luther had never survived a proposal so full of disobedience to the legal authority of his superiors. Happy for himself, and for the cause of reform, the Cardinal wisely and temperately agreed not to push matters to extremities at that time. There might, in this forbearance, have been something of fear or of respect to the many powerful friends of Luther; but the Papal Court, in subsequent times, has shewn, that no fear or regard for kings, or kingly authority, could deter it from boldly, and even arrogantly, asserting its real or pretended rights and powers. The fact is clearly this:—The steady adherents of the Church, not having before been roused into resentment, or irritated by misrepresentation to acts of a vindictive nature, followed more closely the true and proper spirit of their Christian faith.* Not but that the case of John

* Wickliffe, who, with all his great virtues, and he had many, had certainly taken upon himself to reform the Church from a sordid and unworthy spirit of revenge, and wrote against the received authorities of the time in a manner which no regular government, either before or since, would tolerate, died in his bed, and in possession of his living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. Where slept the spirit of persecution then? Had the Church not then learned the use of fire and faggot? And yet we are told that "Popery is always the same;" and that nothing but want of power in the Catholics prevents their burning us, *en masse*, in Smithfield! But more of this hereafter.

Huss and Jerome of Prague, a century before, had convinced the world, that the Court of Rome knew how to maintain, even with rigour and cruelty, the authority it had acquired : and that rebellion and sedition, as all opposition to established power is usually denominated, might meet with condign punishment.

However this might be, Luther, after these different meetings, was permitted to depart ; when his friends, judging from the bold or rash manner of his proceeding, and the known authority of his adversaries, that it would not be prudent for him to remain any longer in danger, advised a secret flight from Augsburg. Prior, however, to his departure, he published a solemn appeal to the Supreme Pontiff prejudiced and misled, to the same Pontiff when better informed. Soon afterwards he addressed a modest and respectful letter to the Cardinal, clearly indicating that he had no just ground of complaint against him :* yet almost all Protestant writers since the Reformation join in censuring, in the bitterest manner, the haughty conduct of this Cardinal. This mistake, for so it certainly appears to be, most probably had its origin in the angry mind of Fra. Paolo, who, without giving any authority for the assertion, declares that the conduct of the Cardinal

* Roscoe's Leo X. vol. III. p. 239.

of Gaeta was censured even at the Roman court; by whom, as this writer further takes upon himself to add, he was blamed for not having promised Luther great riches, a bishopric, and even the red hat of a Cardinal. On this slender authority, and from this, to say the least of it, doubtful source, have our writers copied and re-copied, echoed and re-echoed, the most extravagant slanders against a man who, upon the whole, appears to have been directed in his zeal against Luther, by the most honourable and benevolent motives;* and who conducted himself, considering the high powers with which he was vested, in a mild and moderate manner.

The abrupt departure of Luther from Augsburg naturally awakened the resentment of the Cardinal, and he immediately addressed a letter to the elector of Saxony, to whose protection Luther fled, expressing his surprise and indignation at his conduct, at the same time requesting that, if he should continue to hold and defend his opinions, he might be sent to Rome, or at least banished from the elec-

* Mr. Roscoe, with a magnanimity highly becoming the gentleman and scholar, is almost the only protestant writer I have met with, who has ventured to do justice to the character of the Cardinal of Gaeta. Leo X. vol. III. chap. XV. Even the candid Mosheim has copied, professedly, from Paolo Sarpi, these unjust slanders.

tor's dominions. This letter,* which contains the Cardinal's interview with Luther, shews clearly enough that every indulgence was granted the Reformer which the circumstances of the case would permit.

It must, however, be admitted, that many of Luther's adversaries were not equally careful to abstain from violence and insult. He was assailed from various quarters by the most virulent and indecent abuse; and even the Pope himself began considerably to increase in the rigour and severity of his measures. He issued a special edict in November of the same year, commanding all his spiritual subjects to yield the most implicit faith in the power and efficacy of his ridiculous indulgences.

Frederic, the elector, replied in a respectful manner to the legate's letter, but refused to condemn Luther before his opinions were proved to be erroneous.

Every day increased the danger to which Luther was exposed by his intrepid zeal and perseverance; but the powers claimed by Leo X., in the bull he had just issued, reduced him to this most difficult alternative:—either openly to acknowledge, as he had ever done, his per-

* It may be seen in the works of Luther, vol. i. p. 173.

fect obedience to the Holy See, by submitting his judgment to the decisions of the Pope, or at once renounce obedience to the Vicar of Christ, and declare open war against the whole Christian world. With a boldness unparalleled, he resolved on the latter, and immediately appealed from the Pope to a General Council. He was then at Wittemberg. To justify himself in this measure, he truly declared that General Councils "are superior in power to the Pope, who being a fallible man, might err, as St. Peter, the most perfect of his predecessors, had erred."* He further remarked, that the prophet forbids us to put trust or confidence in men, even in princes, to whose judgment nothing ought less to be committed than the word of God;† protesting, however, at the same time, that he had no intention to speak any thing against the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, nor against the authority of the Holy See. He relates what passed at Wittemberg and Augsburg upon his account; and adds, that perceiving they would proceed against him at the Court of Rome, and that his pretended judges, without regard to his submission or protestations, designed his condemnation, he was forced to appeal from Leo X. misinformed, from the commission of his present judges, their citation,

* Sleid. Hist. 12. Luth. Oper. v. i. p. 179.

† Fra. Paolo Storia del Concil. Tridentino, lib. i.

process, excommunication, and all other censures, which they had or could inflict; and from all the consequences that had followed or might follow; and that he demanded the letters of his appeal, with a protestation to prosecute it, and do himself justice as he should think it convenient.*

Leo X., still unwilling or afraid to push matters to extremities against this unruly son of the Church, addressed a conciliatory message to the Elector of Saxony. This was accompanied by a present, which a very short time before would have had the most pleasing effects on the mind of the Elector: it was the consecrated *Rose*, which the Pontiff had been in the habit of sending annually to those princes for whom he professed a more than usual affection and regard. This sacred and honourable present came too late. The rose had lost its fragrance with the half-reformed Elector. And even had this not been the case, a circumstance occurred at that time, which diverted the attention of the Pope from the affairs of the Church, furnished the Elector with additional motives to continue his protection to the Reformer, and gave Luther himself time and new means to promote the great objects of his opposition to the Court of Rome, and the authority of the

* Dupin, Eccles. Hist. book ii. cent. xvi.

Pontiff. The letters and present of the Pope were sent by the hands of Miltitz, a Saxon knight attached to the papal Court, and one of Leo's chamberlains. By the same person, the Pope wrote to Pfeffinger, Councillor of State to the Elector, requesting him to use his influence with his master to stop the progress of the Reformation, and to imitate the piety and religious zeal of his ancestors. A similar request was made to Spalatino, Secretary of State to the Elector. These letters are dated early in January 1519; but before Miltitz arrived with them in Germany, the Emperor Maximilian died, and his death, for a time, changed the face of affairs.

This circumstance somewhat delayed the negotiations of Miltitz; yet in the course of the year a conference was had with Luther at Altenburg; and this prudent and sensible minister so far succeeded with him, by playing off upon his vanity, and by solemnly and earnestly reprobating the wicked conduct of Tetzels, that our hitherto inflexible Reformer consented to write a submissive letter to Leo X., and once more promised to be silent respecting indulgences, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries.* Previously, however, to writing this obedient letter, Luther wrote one to Miltitz, in which he censures, in

* Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. vol. iv. p. 39.

somewhat severe terms, the conduct even of the Pope himself, who had given the Archbishop of Mentz a dispensation to hold several bishoprics, by which he had so nourished his ambition and avarice, that a kind of necessity had been imposed upon him to abuse the promulgation of Indulgences, in order to raise money for the numerous expenses to which he had exposed himself. Luther also charged the Pope with being under undue influence to the Florentines, particularly to his own family of the Medici, who were accused of great covetousness, pride, and ambition.

This letter was given into the hands of Mil-tiz; but, for some reason which does not appear, Luther recalled these injurious reflections, and addressed a letter to Leo X., in which he declares, that it is a very great grief to him to find himself accused of want of respect to the Church of Rome, in a matter which he had undertaken purely with a design to maintain her honour; which was also the motive that determined him not to retract his assertions, as his writings were spread through all Germany, and he could not renounce the sentiments those writings conveyed, without dishonouring the holy Catholic Church. It is more than probable, however, that in this last profession, our pious Reformer is somewhat satirical: his subsequent conduct, and, indeed, his whole behaviour from the time he commenced open rebellion against

the Roman Court, shew that he was influenced by views not very favourable to the interests of the Catholic Church. In this letter he repeats his complaints against the conduct of his opponents, and throws the whole blame of the threatened schism on their heads. He then protests before the living God, that he never intended to diminish the authority of the Church of Rome or of the Pope. He acknowledges that the power of that Church is above all things, and that there is nothing to be preferred to it, either in heaven or earth, except our Lord Jesus Christ. He, moreover, engages in this letter to publish some writings, to exhort his friends and adherents to honour the Roman Catholic Church, and not impute to it the rashness of private men. He promises also that in those writings he will exhort his readers not to impute the sharpness of style, in which he had before written, to any other motive than the most earnest desire to save the Church from being disgraced with the imputation of avarice. This letter is dated March 13, 1519.*

As the cause of truth and religion fortunately does not rest on the good or bad qualities of Luther, or any other of the Reformers, I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that in

* Dupin, book ii. cap. iii. cent. xvi. Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation, book ii.

these professions of respect and obedience to the Pope, Luther was acting a double part ; and that he therein departed from that boldness and decision which he generally observed during his war with the Church. But this was not the only instance in which our Reformer shewed himself capable of managing his matters more in the spirit of a politician than in that of a Christian Minister. He might not, however, be averse to a reconciliation at this time ; though how he might reasonably expect his professions of obedience to be received, by the party against whose authority he had already appealed, there can be little difficulty in deciding : for Luther was not without great foresight or knowledge of the human heart. Yet Leo X., naturally disposed to pacific measures, and ready to put the most favourable construction on every thing, replied to Luther in a style equally mild and conciliatory. The friends of peace now began to hope that these differences would speedily subside.*

But though the Roman Court received the professions of Luther with anticipations of this

* The IXth. Section, of Dr. Maclaine's Translation of Mosheim, was added by the translator, because, as he says, he thought that this part of Luther's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner than it is in the original. The admirers of Mosheim would have been obliged to his translator for this and other liberties he has taken, had he been careful to have observed the spirit and faithfulness of his original ;
but

pleasing nature, other circumstances arose which blasted all these hopes, revived the fermentation of theological disputes, and gave new life to those animosities which seemed in that age to be their natural and invariable result.*

About this period, Andrew Bodenstein, called by himself Carlostadt, from the place of his birth, having embraced the opinions of Luther, published a thesis in their defence. This called forth once more the learning and powerful abilities of Eccius.

To enter into a detail of the disputes at Leipsic between Eccius, Carlostadt, and Luther, would neither edify the reader, nor illustrate this history. As usual, both sides claimed the victory:—an indifferent observer might remark, that neither deserved it. These disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the

but whoever will compare Mosheim's note (*u*) vol. iv. p. 39, with Maclaine's reflections on the conduct of Leo X. (p. 42 of the same volume), will perceive a manifest discrepancy between the statements of these writers. According to the one, the Court of Rome received the submission of Luther in the most friendly manner: according to the other, that Court had not prudence enough to take so wise a step. In a separate work, this conduct of Dr. Maclaine's might have been excused: in a re-publication of Dr. Mosheim, it is highly reprehensible.

* Roscoe's *Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 9.

15th of July following. Before they entered upon the debate, which was conducted in the hall of the Castle at Leipsic, in the presence of George, Duke of Saxony, and a large concourse of other eminent persons, Eccius proposed to appoint suitable judges. Luther, with his characteristic boldness and impetuosity, replied, that all the world might be the judge. The Universities of Paris and Erfurt were at length fixed upon.* The questions agitated embrace many of the opinions which still divide the Catholic and Protestant Churches; and they were discussed in a manner and with a spirit by no means honourable to either of the disputants, or the Universities of Paris and Erfurt. If, however, these disputes had but little effect, while they were carried on by both parties *in propria persona*, when they were renewed in writing, they called forth the efforts of many learned and eminent scholars; amongst whom were Melancthon and Erasmus, whose various publications awakened the spirit of inquiry, and forwarded, in a very powerful manner, the cause of the Reformation.

After the fruitless disputes at Leipsic, Luther returned to Wittemberg, where Miltitz renewed

* Dupin, with his usual candour and impartiality, has given an ample detail of the points in dispute, in the 5th chapter of the 2d book, cent. xvi. of his history.

his efforts to reconcile Luther to the Pope and the Church. Whatever resolution our zealous and intrepid Reformer might manifest in his opposition to the papal authority, he appears to have been but ill-prepared to withstand the attacks of flattery ; and, accordingly, Miltitz, who seems properly to have appreciated the mind of Luther, prevailed upon him, by calling in the assistance of the society of the Augustine Monks, to which, as we have seen, Luther belonged, to write again to the Pope, with a further and more explicit account of his conduct. This application to the Augustine Monks seems to have been particularly pleasing to Luther.

The indefatigable and truly impartial Mr. Roscoe has treated this part of the subject in his usual interesting and just manner ; and as it is one of the most essential traits in the early history of the Reformation, I will give the account of Luther's letter, as it appears in this author's *Life of Leo X.**

“ Under the pretext of obedience, respect, and even affection for the pontiff, he has conveyed the most determined opposition, the most bitter satire, and the most marked contempt ; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to conceive a composition more

* Vol. IV. p. 13, et seq.

replete with insult and offence, than that which Luther affected to allow himself to be prevailed on to write by the representations of his own fraternity. ‘ Amongst the monsters of the age,’ says Luther, ‘ with whom I have now waged nearly a ‘ three years’ war, I am compelled, at times, to ‘ turn my regards towards you, O most holy ‘ father Leo ; or rather I may say, that as you ‘ are esteemed to be the sole cause of the contest, ‘ you are never absent from my thoughts. For ‘ although I have been induced by your impi- ‘ ous flatterers, who have attacked me without ‘ any cause, to appeal to a general council, re- ‘ gardless of the empty decrees of your prede- ‘ cessors, Pius and Julius, which, by a kind of ‘ stupid tyranny, were intended to prevent such ‘ a measure, yet I have never allowed my mind ‘ to be so far alienated from your holiness, as ‘ not to be most earnestly solicitous for the hap- ‘ piness both of yourself and your see, which I ‘ have always endeavoured, as far as in my ‘ power, to obtain from God by continual and ‘ ardent supplications. It is true, I have almost ‘ learnt to despise and to exult over the threats ‘ of those who have sought to terrify me, by the ‘ majesty of your name and authority ; but there ‘ is one circumstance which I cannot contemn, ‘ and which has compelled me again to ad- ‘ dress your holiness. I understand I have been ‘ highly blamed, as having had the temerity to ‘ carry my opposition so far as even to attack ‘ your personal character. •

“ ‘ I must, however, most explicitly assure
 ‘ you, that whenever I have had occasion to
 ‘ mention you, I have never done it but in the
 ‘ best and most magnificent terms. Had I done
 ‘ otherwise, I should have belied my own judg-
 ‘ ment, and should not only concur in the opi-
 ‘ nion of my adversaries, but most willingly ac-
 ‘ knowledge my rashness and impiety. I have
 ‘ given you the appellation of Daniel in Baby-
 ‘ lon, and have even endeavoured to defend you
 ‘ against your great calumniator Silvester
 ‘ (Prierio) with a sincerity which any reader
 ‘ will abundantly perceive in my works. The
 ‘ unsullied reputation of your life is, indeed, so
 ‘ august and so celebrated in every part of the
 ‘ world by the applauses of learned men, as to
 ‘ set at defiance any aspersions which can be
 ‘ thrown upon it. I am not so absurd as to
 ‘ attack him whom every one praises, when it
 ‘ has always been my rule to spare even those
 ‘ whom public report condemns. I delight not
 ‘ in blazoning the crimes of others, being con-
 ‘ scious of the mote which is in my own eye,
 ‘ and not regarding myself as entitled to throw
 ‘ the first stone at an adultress.’

“ After justifying the asperity with which he
 has commented on the misconduct of his adver-
 saries, by the example of Christ, and of the
 prophets and apostles, he thus proceeds: ‘ I
 ‘ must, however, acknowledge my total abhor-
 ‘ rence of your see, the Roman court, which,

‘ neither you nor any man can deny, is more
 ‘ corrupt than either Babylon or Sodom, and
 ‘ according to the best of my information, is
 ‘ sunk in the most deplorable and notorious im-
 ‘ piety.* I have been, therefore, truly indig-
 ‘ nant to find, that under your name, and the
 ‘ pretext of the Roman church, the people of
 ‘ Christ have been made a sport of; which I
 ‘ have opposed, and will oppose, as long as
 ‘ the spirit of faith shall remain in me. Not
 ‘ that I would attempt impossibilities, or expect
 ‘ that my efforts could avail against such a hos-
 ‘ tile throng of flatterers, and in the midst of
 ‘ the commotions of that Babylon. I owe,
 ‘ however, something to my brethren, and con-
 ‘ ceive that it behoves me to keep watch that
 ‘ they are not seized in such numbers, nor
 ‘ so violently attacked, by this Roman plague.

* “ It must be observed, that Luther had been in Rome, in the year 1510, on the affairs of his convent, where he had been greatly disgusted with the conduct of the clergy, and the manners of the people, in the performance of religious worship. ‘ Ego Romæ,’ says he, ‘ non diu fui. Ibi celebravi ipse, et vidi celebrari aliquot missas, sed ita, ut, quoties recorder, execrer illas. Nam super mensam, inter alia, audiavi Curtisanos quosdam ridendo gloriari; nonnullos in ara super panem et vinum hæc verba pronuntiare,’ *Panis es, panis manebis; vinum es, vinum manebis.* Ex Luther. op. German. tom. vi. Jenæ, ap. Melch. Adam in viid, 49. Speaking of this journey in his *Colloquia*, he observes, that he would not have exchanged it for a thousand florins. *Ib.*

‘ For what has Rome poured out for these many
 ‘ years past (as you well know) but the desola-
 ‘ tion of all things, both of body and soul, and
 ‘ the worst examples of all iniquity. It is, in-
 ‘ deed, as clear as day-light to all mankind, that
 ‘ the Roman church, formerly the most holy of
 ‘ all churches, is become the most licentious den
 ‘ of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels,
 ‘ the kingdom of sin, of death, and of hell ; the
 ‘ wickedness of which not antichrist himself
 ‘ could conceive.

“ ‘ In the mean time, you, O Leo, sit like a
 ‘ lamb amidst wolves, and live like Daniel amidst
 ‘ the lions, or Ezekiel among the scorpions.
 ‘ But what can you oppose to these monsters ?
 ‘ Three or four learned and excellent cardinals !
 ‘ but what are these on such an occasion ? In
 ‘ fact, you would all sooner perish by poison,
 ‘ than attempt a remedy to these disorders.
 ‘ The fate of the court of Rome is decreed ; the
 ‘ wrath of God is upon it ; advice it detests ;
 ‘ reformation it dreads ; the fury of its impiety
 ‘ cannot be mitigated, and it has now fulfilled
 ‘ that which was said of its mother, *We have*
 ‘ *medicined Babylon and she is not healed ; let us*
 ‘ *therefore leave her.* It was the office of you
 ‘ and of your cardinals to have applied a remedy ;
 ‘ but the disorder derides the hand of the phy-
 ‘ sician, *nec audit currus habenas.* Under these
 ‘ impressions I have always lamented, O most
 ‘ excellent Leo, that you, who are worthy of

‘ better times, should have been elected to the
 ‘ pontificate in such days as these. Rome
 ‘ merits you not, nor those who resemble you,
 ‘ but Satan himself, who in fact reigns more
 ‘ than you in that Babylon; would that you
 ‘ could exchange that state, which your inve-
 ‘ terate enemies represent to you as an honour,
 ‘ for some petty living; or would support your-
 ‘ self by your paternal inheritance; for of such
 ‘ honours none are worthy but Iscariots, the sons
 ‘ of perdition.’

“ After pouring out these invectives, and others
 of a similar kind, always pointed with expres-
 sions of the most contemptuous kindness for the
 pontiff, Luther proceeds to give a brief history
 of his conduct, and of the efforts made to pacify
 him by the Roman court; in which he speaks
 of Eccius as the servant of Satan, and the ad-
 versary of Jesus Christ, and adverts to the con-
 duct of the cardinal of Gaeta with an acrimony
 by no means consistent with his former profes-
 sions in this respect. He then declares, that in
 consequence of the representations of the Au-
 gustine fathers, who had entreated him at least
 to honour the person of the pontiff, and assured
 him that a reconciliation was yet practicable,
 he had joyfully and gratefully undertaken the
 present address: ‘ Thus I come,’ says he,
 ‘ most holy father, and prostrating myself be-
 ‘ fore you, entreat that you will, if possible, lay
 ‘ hands on and bridle those flatterers who, whilst

‘ they pretend to be pacific, are the enemies of
 ‘ peace. Let no one, however, presume to
 ‘ think, most holy father, that I shall sing a
 ‘ *palinode*, unless he wishes to give rise to a still
 ‘ greater storm. I shall admit of no restraints
 ‘ in interpreting the word of God; for the word
 ‘ of God, which inculcates the liberty of all,
 ‘ must itself be free. Except in these points,
 ‘ there is nothing to which I am not ready to
 ‘ submit. I hate contention, I will provoke no
 ‘ one; but being provoked, whilst Christ assists
 ‘ me, I will not be mute. With one word your
 ‘ holiness might silence these commotions, and
 ‘ establish that peace which I so earnestly
 ‘ desire.

“ ‘ Allow me, however, to caution you, my
 ‘ good father Leo, against those syrens who
 ‘ would persuade you that you are not alto-
 ‘ gether a man, but a compound of man and
 ‘ God, and can command and require whatever
 ‘ you please. This, I assure you, will be of no
 ‘ avail. You are the servant of servants, and of
 ‘ all mankind, are seated in the most deplorable
 ‘ and perilous place. Be not deceived by those
 ‘ who pretend that you are lord of the earth,
 ‘ that there can be no christian without your
 ‘ authority, and that you have any power in
 ‘ heaven, in hell, or in purgatory. They are
 ‘ your enemies, and seek to destroy your soul, as
 ‘ it was said by Esaias, *O my people, they who*
 ‘ *pronounce you happy deceive you.* Thus they

‘ impose upon you, who exalt you above a council, and the universal church ; and who attribute to you alone the right of interpreting the scriptures, and endeavour, under your name to establish their own impiety. Alas, by their means, Satan has made great gain among your predecessors.’*

“ This letter, which bears date the sixth day

* “ Some of the protestant writers, willing to attribute the schism of the church wholly to the rash and intemperate conduct of the Roman pontiff, have passed over in silence this provoking letter of Luther, although published in the general collection of his works (*v. Cha. Chais, Mosheim, Robertson, &c.*); others who have cited it, have supposed that Luther was serious in his professions of respect and attachment to Leo X., and that the pontiff should have considered it as a peace-offering (*v. Sleidan and Seckendorf*) ; but it is not difficult to perceive that the whole is a bitter satire, rendered more galling by the pretended anxiety of the writer for the temporal and eternal welfare of the pope. Seckendorf has also attempted to prove, that although this letter bears the date of the 6th April, 1520, it was not written till the month of October following ; in which opinion he has been incautiously followed by other writers. To say nothing of the decisive internal evidence of the letter having been written before the issuing of the papal bull, it may be sufficient to notice the following facts ; a due attention to which would have prevented Seckendorf and his followers from falling into such an error.

“ I. The letter in question was prefixed, as the actual dedication to Leo X., of the book of Luther, *de Libertate Christiana*.

of April, 1520, was prefixed by Luther as a dedication to his treatise on Christian liberty, which

ans. In this form it appears in the Jena Edition of the works of Luther, where it immediately precedes the treatise, and is entitled *Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X. Rom. Pontificem, LIBELLO DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA PREFIXA*. The dedicatory words at the close of the letter admit of no doubt that it was published with the book, 'In fine, ne vacuus advenerim, B. P. mecum affero tractatum hunc, *sub tuo nomine editum*, vel ut auspicio pacis componendæ et bonæ spei,' &c.

" II. The precise time of the publication of this treatise is marked by the dedicatory letter itself; viz. the 6th April, 1520. It preceded, in the order of publication, the treatise, *de Captivitate Babylonica*; and the latter treatise had made its appearance in the month of August, 1520. v. *Sleidan. lib. ii. Seckond. lib. i. sec. lxxiii.*

" III. The Jena Edition of the works of Luther was superintended by his particular friends soon after his death, and the greatest care was taken in arranging his writings, in order of time, according to their proper dates. This is repeatedly insisted on, in the preface by Amadorf, as one of the chief merits of the work. 'Nam multi, non considerata temporum serie, turpiter hallucinantur, *dum prætextu Scriptorum Lutheri, Christum et Belial conciliare student.*' In this Edition the letter appears in its proper place, with the date of the 6th April, and before the bull of Leo X., which is dated the 15th of June.

" IV. Any correspondence between Luther and Leo X. after the issuing the bull must have been well known, and given rise to great observation, as it would have shewn the conduct of Luther in a very different light from that in which it now appears, and led to very different conclusions respecting

he professes to transmit to the Pope as a proof of his pacific disposition, and of his desire to attend to his studies, if the flatterers of the pontiff would allow him ; but which the advocates of the Roman church have considered as an additional proof of his arrogance and his disobedience."

Had the friends of the Roman court viewed this letter in the light which some Protestants have considered it, and not as in fact, completing "the measure of his offences" against the Pope and the Holy Catholic Church, the bull of excommunication which Leo X. unwillingly issued against the author of it, would never have been put in force. After repeated persuasions, however, on the 15th of June, 1520,* a bull

ing his character. To have omitted or misplaced it in the Jena Edition of the works of Luther, which professes to give a history of the reformation for the years 1517, 18, 19, 20, and 21, by a regular series of authentic documents, would have been unpardonable. Even Seckendorf himself has not ventured to introduce, or even to mention such letter in his commentaries, at the time when he contends it was written ; and only undertakes, in a former part of his work, to raise some doubt on the subject ; '*dubitationem quandam infra aperiam*;' a doubt which a proper examination would effectually have removed." This point has been still further cleared in Mr. Roscoe's Preface to the 2nd. Edition of his work.

* Fra. Paolo, Concil. di Trento. lib. i. p. 10. (Brent). Palavicini, Concil. di Trento, cap. xx. p. 119.

of condemnation was issued against Luther and his doctrines. This bull completed the schism which had been evidently begun three years before. It states the various causes of complaint against Luther, his adherents, and writings, from which forty-one articles were selected as heretical, dangerous, and scandalous; offensive to pious ears, contrary to Christian charity, the respect due to the Roman church, and to that obedience which is the sinew of ecclesiastical discipline. The most pointed condemnation is there passed upon them, and a strict prohibition laid upon every person, under pain of excommunication, from advancing, defending, or favouring, either in writing or preaching, any such opinions. The books themselves are ordered to be collected and publicly burned. The bull then proceeds to narrate the mild and paternal behaviour of the pontiff; and contrasts it with the pertinacious and obstinate conduct of Luther, whom the papal court might instantly condemn as a notorious heretic; but that, unwilling to proceed to harsh measures, Luther and his adherents are conjured to return to their duty, and renounce their errors; assuring them, that if they give manifest proof of their obedience, by destroying and disavowing their writings, within sixty days, they should be graciously received to the bosom and protection of the Church; but that, should they persist in their errors and contumacy, after the time specified, they should be proceeded against imme-

diately as obstinate and perverse heretics; and receive the punishment which the law in such cases has provided.*

The bull of Leo X., instead of allaying the tumults, called forth all the zeal and energy of Luther, and his powerful and numerous friends. To such a pitch of exasperation did this measure raise the intrepid and daring innovator, that he threw off, in the most unequivocal manner, all forms of respect, and even decency, towards the Pope, the Councils, and the Catholic Church. Refusing to appear to the Pope's citation, he boldly exclaimed, "I defer my appearing there until I am followed by five thousand horse and twenty thousand foot: then will I make myself believed."† No epithet of a rude and offensive nature was spared in representing the character and conduct of the pope and his whole court. He once more appealed to a general council, and hesitates not to call the supreme pontiff, whose authority he had lately declared as inferior only to that of the Lord Jesus Christ, a tyrant, a heretic, an apostate, and An-

* This bull has been copied, from the works of Luther, into the Appendix (No. clxxxiii.) to Mr. Roscoe's Life of Leo X.; and the substance of it may be found, translated, in Dupin's Ecclesiastical Writers, Cent. xvi.

† Adver. execr. Antichrist. Bull, T. 2. p. 91. ap. Bossuet Var. i. p. 24.

tichrist himself. He even summons the pope and his cardinals to repent of their sins, and renounce their errors, or he would otherwise deliver over both them and their bull, with all their decretals, to Satan, that by the destruction of the flesh, their souls may be liberated in the coming of our Lord. Accordingly, not being in a capacity to carry his threat into execution in any other way, "On the 10th of December, 1520, he caused a kind of funeral pile to be erected without the walls of Wittemberg, surrounded by scaffolds, as for a public spectacle; and when the places thus prepared were filled by the members of the university, and the inhabitants of the city, Luther made his appearance with many attendants, bringing with him several volumes, containing the decrees of Gratian, the decretals of the popes, the constitutions, called the Extravagants, the writings of Eccius, and of Emser, another of his antagonists, and, finally, a copy of the bull of Leo X. The pile being then set on fire, he, with his own hands, committed the books to the flames, exclaiming at the same time, *Because ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, ye shall be burnt with eternal fire.*"* That there might be no mistake respecting the real sentiments of these zealous Reformers, on the following day, Luther

* Luther Op. vol. ii. p. 320. Pallavic. Conc. di Trento, cap. xxii. p. 126. in Roscoe Leo X. iv. p. 31.

mounted the pulpit, and openly declared that the conflagration they had just seen was a matter of small importance; that "it would be more to the purpose if the Pope himself, or in other words, the Papal See, were also burnt!"*

This indecent and persecuting behaviour was imitated by the friends of the Reformation in several other parts of Germany. How unlike the conduct of him who, *when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not!* What a pity that these Reformers should have been so anxious to get rid of every thing in Popery, but its persecuting spirit! That the strict discipline, and the various means and motives to a holy life, which are found in the Catholic Church, should be all rejected as "filthy rags," and nothing be retained but that gloomy spirit of bigotry, which in fact does not belong essentially to any religious profession, but which the darkness of the age had so injuriously ingrafted on the faith of Christians! Nor was this the only instance of Luther's intolerant zeal: he called upon Charles V., the young Emperor, to rise up and oppose himself to the kingdom of antichrist; and he addressed a book in the German language to the Emperor and nobles,

* "Parum esse hoc deflagrationis negotium; ex re fore, ut Papa quoque, hoc est, sedes Papalis consumaretur." *Luth. Op. vol. ii. p. 320.*

endeavouring to excite them to war against the Pope,* whom he called a wolf, possessed by an evil spirit, and who, as he afterwards said, "is so full of devils, that he spits them from his mouth, and blows them from his nose."† Nor was this, as Bossuet remarks,‡ an orator, whom the warmth of the harangue might have hurried into indeliberate conclusions; but a doctor that dogmatized in cold blood." When abuse and slander had been pretty well lavished and exhausted, he turned the strains of his invective into the most foul and disgusting railing, employing the lowest figures, the vilest comparisons, and the most execrable puns, which his fertile imagination could devise, to pour contempt and reproach on the head of the Church; insomuch, that his language had at times much more the appearance of delirious ravings, than that of a wise and holy reformer of abuses.

Supposing himself to be speaking to the Pope, Paul III., he says: "My little Paul, my little Pope, my little ass, walk gently, the frost has made it slippery; thou wilt break a leg—thou wilt be foul thyself, and people will cry out, O the devil! how the little ass of a Pope has befouled

* Seckendorf Comment. de Lutheran. lib. i. sec. xxiv. p. 127.

† Luth. Op. tom. vii. in Reeve's Christian Church, vol. iii. 63.

‡ Variations of the Protestant Churches, vol. i. p. 24.

himself!" Again: "An ass knows that he is an ass; a stone knows that it is a stone; but these little asses of Popes do not know that they are asses. The Pope cannot take me for an ass; for he knows very well that through God's goodness and his particular grace, I am more learned in scripture than he and all his asses put together." He afterwards adds: "Were I sovereign of the Empire, I would make but one bundle of both Pope and Cardinals, and souse them all together into the little ditch called by the Latins the Tyrrhen sea. This bath would cure them, I pass my word for it, and give Jesus Christ for surety!"* Surely, one would have thought this latter blasphemy might have been spared! It could hardly have been needful to enlist the meek and lowly Jesus in this ignoble service. Yet with all the good intentions of our enraged Reformer, his attempt to create a real war against the Pope did not succeed, at least not immediately.

Such was the spirit and behaviour of Luther! And yet our reason has been beguiled during the long space of three hundred years about this holy man of God—this Apostle of the Most High—this incomparable reviver of all that is good in religion and morals, "the ever-glorious Luther!"† If to be a good Catholic, it is required that we adopt the spirit of some Catholic princes

* Vid. Papasinuli, in tom. vii. p. 474.

† Walch's *Lives of the Popes*, p. 248.

and other bigots—if to be a Lutheran, it is needful to follow the example of this Augustine friar—if to be a pious Calvinist, it is indispensable to imitate the conduct of the infuriate priest who burned Servetus*—if no one can be a good Protestant who does not conform himself to all the maxims of the earliest Reformers, then, indeed, the author of the present work is neither a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Calvinist, nor any kind of Protestant; for, whoever may be offended at the assertion, he fears not to say, that he is as much ashamed of the conduct of most of the Reformers, as he abhors the persecuting edicts and fulminating decrees of some princes, hot-brained popes, and intolerant priests. But it will be said that Luther's intolerance was the fault of the age. True: yet it should not be forgotten, that he was raised up, as he pretended, to correct the faults of the age; and, therefore, was more inexcusable: for there was not a single error of the Roman Court, against which he directed his mighty talents, so hateful in the sight of God, so injurious to the welfare and happiness of Christians, or so disgraceful to religion and morals, as that which sanctioned the

* Readers, who can distinguish between Calvinism, as a system of Religion, and the conduct of its founder (as every Protestant should do with regard to the Catholic Religion and Popery in its worst sense), may consult, with advantage, that faithful and interesting book, entitled, *An Apology for Servetus*, by the Rev. R. Wright.

burning of heretics; and yet it is evident that this practice, of all others, he cherished and wished to have imitated !

Every one, however, must allow to Luther the merit of uncommon fortitude, zeal and constancy. This was manifested in a conspicuous manner at the Diet of Worms, which was assembled early in the year 1521, by the Emperor Charles V. To this assembly Luther was summoned to appear; and he did not hesitate promptly to obey the summons, declaring to his friends, who were alarmed for his safety should he comply, that were he sure to encounter there as many devils as there were tiles on the houses, he would not disobey the call.*

He arrived at the city of Worms on the sixteenth day of April, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and was conducted to the Diet on the following day by the Marshal Count Pappenheim, who informed him that he would not be permitted to address the assembly, but must give unequivocal answers to such questions as should be put to him. Being asked whether the books published in his name, the titles whereof were recited to him, were, indeed, his own publications, and also, if they were, whe-

*Ep. in Seckend. lib. i. p. 152. Fra. Paolo, Hist.

ther he was prepared to retract what had been condemned by the Pope's bull in them, he replied, that certainly the books were his, and that he should never deny them ; but that with respect to retracting any thing he had advanced in those books, it was a matter of such importance, that he requested a little time to consider before he gave his answer. Accordingly he was allowed till the following day to deliver a verbal and decided resolution. Encouraged by the plaudits and the advice of numerous friends, and urged on to constancy by the admiration of the populace, he again appeared before the Diet at the time appointed. He delivered a very long and-eloquent oration, in which he declared that some of his writings being published purely for the promotion of piety and good morals, he could not be expected to condemn what both friends and enemies allowed to be useful and innocent ;—that others being directed principally against the tyranny of the papistical doctrines, which had given such general offence, he could not retract them without betraying the cause of liberty and truth ; which he had hitherto resolved to support ;—but that with respect to the third portion of his writings, which were those written directly against his various adversaries, he would confess he might have departed from that strict line of mildness and decorum which he ought to have observed ; and that as he made no extraordinary pretensions to sanctity, and was rather disposed to defend his doctrines than his

manners, he should only reply, in the words of the Saviour, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.* This was the only concession he appeared disposed to make, except, that if any of his doctrines could be proved to be opposed to the Holy Scriptures, he himself would be the first to commit them to the flames. Addressing himself immediately to the Emperor and the other princes who were present, he said, that the true doctrine, when publicly acknowledged, was at all times to be regarded as a divine blessing ; but that to reject it, would infallibly bring upon them many serious calamities.

This harangue not being deemed a satisfactory answer, it was demanded of him to say, simply and unequivocally, whether he would or would not retract his opinions and writings. Now it was that all the native greatness and dignity of his soul became manifest, and he boldly replied in the following terms, which I give as translated by Mr. Roscoe :

“ Since your Majesty, and the sovereigns now present, require a simple answer, I shall reply thus, without evasion and without vehemence. Unless I be convinced, by the testimony of Scripture, or by evident reason (for I cannot rely on the authority of the Pope and councils alone, since it appears they have frequently erred and contradicted each other), and unless my conscience be subdued by the word of

God, I neither can nor will retract any thing, seeing that to act against my own conscience is neither safe nor honest." After which he added, in his native German, for he had previously spoken in Latin, "HIER STEHE ICH, ICH GAN NICHT ANDERS. GOTT HELFF MIR. AMEN." "*Here I take my stand ; I can do no other ; God be my help ! Amen.*" Never, through his whole life, did Luther appear to so much advantage as on this memorable occasion. Adverting to this magnanimous reply, a short time before his death, he said : " Thus God gives us fortitude for the occasion ; but I doubt whether I should now find myself equal to such a task."

The answer which Luther had given to the Diet seemed to have placed the matter beyond all further dispute, and that nothing remained but to put the law against heretics in force upon him ; yet, through much persuasion, the Emperor was induced to allow him to remain three days longer at Worms, and in the mean time several persons were permitted to use their best efforts in private to persuade him to obedience. But every mild and lenient method proving abortive, he was commanded to depart from the city, and not to be found within the Emperor's dominions after the expiration of twenty days. Some persons even advised the Emperor to disregard the safe-conduct which had been granted, and imitating the Council of Constance, to destroy at once so dangerous a heretic ; but, to the eternal honour of Charles V.,

he replied, that he would not give himself occasion to blush, as the Emperor Sigismund had done in the case of John Huss. In thus nobly refusing to depart from the spirit of his religious profession he was encouraged by Lewis, the Elector Count Palatine, who declared that such an act would brand the German name with perpetual infamy ; and added, that it was intolerable that the empire should be for ever disgraced and reproached for not keeping the public faith, merely to gratify the resentment of a few priests. It is peculiarly worthy of remark, that the few advocates for not keeping faith with the heretic Luther, did not, as in other cases, refer the Emperor to some established doctrine of the universal Church, which, undoubtedly, they would have done, had any such doctrine ever been taught by the Church.*

Luther left the city of Worms on the twenty-sixth day of April, accompanied by the imperial herald. He was met at the gate of the city by a numerous body of his friends, from whom he received the warmest congratulations and applauses. He then proceeded on his journey to Wittemberg. On the twenty-sixth day† of May,

* The case of John Huss, and the origin of the mistake about not keeping faith with heretics, the reader will find noticed in another place.

† This edict was dated, according to Seckendorf, on the 8th of May. Seckendorf also says, that the Electors of Saxony and

one month after his departure, the Emperor, after repeated solicitations, issued a decree of the Diet against him, in which he is represented "as the devil in the semblance of a man and the dress of a monk;" and all the subjects of the imperial dominions are required to seize upon him and his adherents, to destroy their property and burn their books and writings; and all printers are therein forbid to publish any of their works without the consent of the Ordinary. Such was the disgraceful law of the German empire at that time; and such, to a certain extent, is the law of our own country at the present day, against those who impugn the doctrines of the established Church of England.* Luther,

and Palatine, were wholly ignorant of it; and were very angry at its publication when they knew it. It was dated the 8th of May, he adds, that the people, knowing there was a full session on that day, might believe that it had the entire consent of all the princes of the empire.

* See the seventeenth section, or clause, in the "Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain Statutes," generally called, The Toleration Act. Let this clause be compared with the following Statutes: 9 and 10 William III. c. 32. 1 Edw. VI. c. 1. 1 Eliz. c. 1, 2. 23 Eliz. c. 1. 3 Jac. I. c. 4. 23 Car. II.; and all other penal Statutes of this nature not repealed by the Statute 29 Car. II. c. 9. The common law proceedings against libellers of the Christian religion are not taken away by 9 and 10 of William III. c. 32. This was the course adopted in the case of the King v. Thomas Paine. See 1 East. P. C. 5; apud *Archbold's edition of Black. Com.* iv. 44. Should it be answered that a material difference exists between a person who blasphemously

however, escaped the rage of his enemies, by a very fortunate and unlooked-for circumstance. Passing through a wood on his way to Wittenberg, with but a small band of attendants, he was seized by several persons in masks, employed by the Elector of Saxony, and forcibly carried to the castle of Wartburg, where he remained in privacy the space of nine or ten months, during which Leo X. died, and was succeeded by Adrian VI. This master-piece of policy and humanity in Frederic was attended by several beneficial effects. The adversaries of the Church spread a report that Luther was

ously denies the truth of the Christian religion, and one who, to say the worst of it, denied only a part of that religion, we may reply by a reference to the case of the Rev. F. Stone, who in the year 1808 was publicly tried and degraded (so, I believe, our modern canonists term taking away a poor parson's bread), for preaching and writing against some doctrines of the book of Common Prayer. The *Monthly Repository* for that year, (p. 274, et seq.) contains a curious detail of the Proceedings in Mr. Stone's case; and also (p. 210) a comparison of Mr. Stone and Martin Luther. The author of this work, who was present during the trial of Mr. Stone, never approved of that Rev. Gentleman's manner of proceeding; but this case and some others may serve to shew, that those Protestants who justly complain of the conduct of the Roman Court, towards Martin Luther, will do well to moderate their invectives against the Catholic religion, by turning their attention to the conduct of their own Church under similar circumstances; and, certainly, we shall feel additional reason to be silent on the score of persecution, when we reflect that the trial of Luther was in the beginning of the 16th century, and that the facts which are here alluded to took place

imprisoned, perhaps, destroyed, by the emissaries of Rome, and from thence excited a spirit of revenge, and additional hatred, against the enemies of Luther; and those enemies not knowing, or rather humanely affecting not to know,* what was become of him, he was suffered to enjoy the ease and the literary and religious advantages of what he emphatically called his *Patmos*.

During this retreat he employed himself in composing many of those works which have since become, in a manner, the ground-work of the Reformation. Here, also, he translated a great part of the New Testament into the German language; and wrote numerous letters to his friends in various parts; so that the work of reformation went on with a rapidity equal to his most sanguine wishes, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the apostolic nuncios and others. During this retirement, Luther also employed a portion of his time in hunting with his companions, passing under the character of a country gentleman, and assuming the name of *Yonker George*.†

place at the latter end of the eighteenth; at a time, too, when the nation was engaged in loud and intolerant outcries against *Popery* and *Persecution*!

* It has been thought by some, and that not without probability of its truth, that the emperor himself knew of this event, and of the retreat of Luther. See *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* iv. p. 57.

† Note [S] by Dr. Maclaine, in *Mosheim. Eccles. Hist.* iv. p. 27. Were many good Christians in these days of grace to know,

Luther had not been long in his retirement before he was called from it by the intemperate zeal of one of his disciples, Carlostadt, who, with some others, fired with iconoclastic indignation against the use of images in the churches, began to excite considerable tumults in Saxony, by throwing down and breaking the images, and despoiling the sacred pictures which adorned the church of Wittemberg. From these acts of sacrilege and fanatical intemperance, Carlostadt encouraged the people to every kind of violence, even to mutiny and sedition.* Luther, who had no very inveterate dislike to the use of images as helps to devotion, the only use, in fact, for which the Church had ever designed them, opposed the fury of these reformed Goths and Vandals with his usual fortitude and courage. "But, perhaps," says Dr. Maclaine,† "the true reason of Luther's displeasure at the proceedings of Carlostadt, was, that he could not bear to see

know, that this holy man of God employed any portion of his time in such profane pastimes as hunting, they would be led to withhold many of those panegyrics with which they honour the memory of the Reformer; but, fortunately, most of those who would despise Martin Luther on this ground, are not likely to know, or to believe, that so good a man did ever commit so great a sin as that of *hunting*; and hence all parties, churchmen and dissenters, may consistently continue to fall out about who shall have him as their peculiar apostle.

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. iv. p. 59.

† Note [t] Mosh. Eccles. Hist. iv. p. 59.

another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had laid ; and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only conductor, of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. Luther himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition ; and it appears evidently in several of his letters."

From this period, the Reformation may properly be said to have taken effectual root. The limits of the present work will not allow me to trace its progress with minuteness, through the various countries in which it now began to spread. We may, however, observe, that the new doctrines "diffused themselves with the rapidity of an inundation."* Besides Frederic, elector of Saxony, already mentioned, John Frederic, his successor, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, became Luther's disciples. Within the space of four years, these doctrines spread from Hungary and Bohemia to France and England. Gustavus Ericus, king of Sweden, and Christiern III., king of Denmark, declared in favour of Lutheranism ; and, by degrees, it spread into Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburgh, Holstein, &c. Poland adopted, to a considerable extent, the religious opinions of Socinus ;

* Sig. Pastorini's General History of the Christian Church, p. 204.

and though the Catholic religion has been since made the established creed, the Poles seem never to have had a great relish for the Roman faith.* As early as the year 1528, four Cantons of Switzerland embraced the reformed creed of Zuinglius; but these cantons afterwards coalescing with Geneva, again changed their opinions for those of Calvin. The dogmas of this last named reformer were received in many parts of Germany; and were propagated with a zeal not very creditable to the honour, or even the Christianity of their founder. Munzer,† deserting from Luther, spread the opinions of the anabaptists in Suabia, and other provinces of Germany and the Low Countries. Calvinism was propagated in Scotland, by the furious zeal of John Knox; while the faith of Luther was

* Vide Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 584, et seq.

† When Munzer assumed the title and functions of a pastor, Luther demanded who had given him commission to preach. "Should he answer, 'God,' let him prove it," said Luther, "by a manifest miracle: for when God intends to alter any thing in the ordinary form of mission, it is by such signs that he declares himself." *Sleiden, lib. v. ed. 1555, 69.* It was singular that this thought never occurred to Luther himself, when he began to oppose the ordinary forms of mission in the Catholic Church. But the founders of all sects and churches have ever talked in this strain, when they have themselves got, as they suppose, a good and fair footing. It is then "stand by thyself: for I am holier than thou."—"The Temple of the Lord are we!"

fostered, in England, by the lust and avarice of Henry VIII., till it came to be publicly received and conscientiously believed by some succeeding monarches. These various classes of reformed Churches again split into that multiplicity of inferior sects and parties, which the doctrine of the right of private judgment in matters of faith is so eminently calculated to promote, and which has been the means of producing one of the most interesting works against Protestants ever published, which, however, was answered by another equally curious production in defence of protestantism. This rapid view of the rise of the reformed churches shall be concluded by the estimate which Mr. Gibbon† has made of the real value of the Reformation. Speaking of the early Reformers, this singular historian says: "A philosopher who calculates the degree of their merit, and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, above or against, out reason, they have enfran-

* Bossuet's History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches.

† M. J. Basnage's History of the Reformed Churches.

‡ Decline and Fall, vol. vii. p. 408, & seq.

chised the Christians ; for such enfranchisement is, doubtless, a benefit, so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalized by the freedom, of our first Reformers.* With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel ; and they were bound, like the Catholics, to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, the Reformers were severely orthodox : they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the first six councils ; and with the Athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleasantry ; but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling, and their taste, the first Protestants were entangled in their own scruples, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institu-

* The opinions and proceedings of the Reformers are exposed in the second part of the general history of Mosheim ; but the balance, which he has held with so clear an eye, and so steady an hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren.

tion of the sacrament. Luther maintained a *corporeal*, and Calvin a *real*, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches.* But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination, which have been strained from the epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had most assuredly been prepared by the fathers and schoolmen; but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Hitherto the weight of supernatural belief inclines against the protestants; and many a sober Christian would rather admit that a wafer is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

“ Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are solid and important; and the philosopher must own his obligations to those fearless enthu-

* “ Under Edward VI., our reformation was more bold and perfect: but in the fundamental articles of the Church of England, a strong and explicit declaration against the real presence was obliterated in the original copy, to please the people, or the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth (Burnet’s History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 82. 128. 302.).

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siasts*. I. By their hands the lofty fabrick of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes, of the monastic profession, were restored to the liberty and labours of social life. An hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities, were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness : their images and relics were banished from the church ; and the credulity of the people was no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of Paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least unworthy of the Deity. It only remains to observe, whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with popular devotion ; whether the vulgar, in the absence of all visible objects, will not be inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside in languor and indifference. II. The chain of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks : the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world ; and

* “ ‘ Had it not been for such men as Luther and myself,’ said the fanatic Whiston to Halley the Philosopher, ‘ you would now be kneeling before an image of St. Winifred.’ ”

each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience. This freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the Reformation. The patriot Reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigour their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrate to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus* the guilt of his own rebellion;† and the flames of Smithfield, in

* “The article of *Servet* in the *Dictionnaire Critique* of *Chauffepié*, is the best account which I have seen of this shameful transaction. See likewise the *Abbé d’Artigny*, *Nouveaux Memoires d’Histoire*, &c. tom. ii. p. 55—154.

† “I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the *Auto da Fés* of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienna, and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of a private correspondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varnished by the pretence of danger to the church or state. In his passage through Geneva, Servetus was an harmless stranger, who neither preached nor printed, nor made proselytes. 3. A Catholic inquisitor yields the same obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatise of *Isocrates* (in *Nicole*, tom. i. p. 93. edit. *Battie*), four hundred years before the publication of the gospel. Ἄ πασχοῦτε ὑφ’ ἡγεμῶν ὀφειλόμενα, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιείτε.

which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer.* The nature of the tiger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the Roman pontiff: the Protestant doctors were subjects of an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. *His* decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the Catholic church: *their* arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the reformed churches; many weeds of prejudice were eradicated, and the disciples of Erasmus† diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right:‡ the free govern-

* " See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 84—86. The sense and humanity of the young king were oppressed by the authority of the primate.

† " Erasmus may be considered as the father of rational theology. After a slumber of an hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland. Grotius, Limborch, and Le Clerc: in England by Chillingworth, the latitudinarians of Cambridge (Burnet, Hist. of own Times, vol. i. p. 261—268. octavo edition), Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadley, &c.

‡ " I am sorry to observe, that the three writers of the last age,

ments of Holland* and England† introduced the practice of toleration ; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits of its powers, and the words and shadows that might amuse the child, can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The volumes of controversy are overspread with cobwebs : the doctrine of a Protestant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members ; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the Catholics are accomplished : the web of mystery is unravelled by the Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, whose numbers

age, by whom the rights of toleration have been so nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philosophers.

* " See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the United Provinces. I am not satisfied with Grotius (*de Rebus Belgicis*, Annal. l. i. p. 13, 14. edit. in 12mo.), who approves the Imperial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the inquisition.

† " Sir William Blackstone (*Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 33. 54.) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of Papists, and of those who deny the Trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were not more effectual than an hundred statutes.

must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the name without the substance of religion, who indulge the license without the temper of philosophy.”*

I would not omit the concluding part of this extract, though conscious of its great unjustice and illiberality. Those Christians need not be ashamed of a creed, which meets with the disapprobation of such sneering and disingenuous unbelievers† as Mr. Gibbon.

* “ I shall recommend to public animadversion two passages in Dr. Priestley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the first of these (*Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 275, 276.) the priest, at the second (vol. ii. p. 484.) the magistrate may tremble.”

† Dr. Priestley has ably answered this gross misrepresentation of Mr. Gibbon; a misrepresentation evidently provoked by the just castigation the Doctor gave him in the *General Conclusion* to the work which is so oddly “ recommended to public animadversion.” Nor can I forbear to remark, that though, perhaps, less disposed to admit some of the tenets in Dr. Priestley’s creed than even Mr. Gibbon himself, it is surely a little out of character in the author of the *Decline and Fall*, to complain of any thing at which “ the priest may tremble :” as to the magistrates, Mr. Gibbon was well known to have been a very staunch *powers-that-be-man*, though it is equally notorious, that he directed the most invidious attack against the powers of heaven.

SECTION VIII.

Influence of the Reformation on Literature and the Arts.

THE influence of the Reformation on the arts was decidedly and extensively injurious. During the long and splendid pre-eminence of the Catholic church, a multitude of painters, architects, and sculptors, arose to extend the dominion of taste, and give beauty and magnificence to the sacred structures of the country. The productions of men, inspired by genius, and excited by religious zeal, far surpassed, in the loftiness of their conception, in brilliancy of execution, and in all the minute graces that enthusiasm and perseverance could alone bestow, every monument of human art that men, desirous of temporal fame and the common excitements of gain and popularity, have ever been able to produce. To the operation of religious faith, the Greeks were indebted for much of their excellence in art: the temples of the heathen deities were the noblest monuments of ancient taste, munificence and grandeur. But even in the pagan world, the arts were the business of a few: enthusiasm might animate the professional sculptor, but could not form a Phidias or a Praxiteles. It was reserved for the religion of the Roman world, to exhibit the

extraordinary spectacle of a whole empire devoting itself to the cultivation of those arts that best contribute to the embellishment of religious structures, and to the sanction of its external ceremonies. Having once been taught to worship the Deity through the medium of his visible presence, the Catholic world spared neither labour, nor talent, nor expense, to render the sensible images by which they were reminded of religious truths, or impressed with the presence of omnipotence, worthy of the sincerity of their faith, and the ardour of their worship. The churches of the Roman Catholics were not erected and adorned by the regular masters of the art: the great body of men to whom the construction and embellishment of religious edifices were committed, undertook the most extraordinary works, and arrived at the most unexpected excellence; and there are still to be found, within the circumscribed limits of this island, statues and paintings, the production of obscure and, probably, uneducated men, that a Raphael or a Phidias might not have been ashamed to own.

This excellence, while it was excited by religion, was corrected and preserved by the necessary presence of immediate and continual criticism. The productions of art, by which devotion was inspired, and infidelity abashed, were exposed to every eye, and scrutinized by every devotee. Comparison was easy; and, accustomed to gra-

tification, would become fastidious: the artist, who failed of pleasing his fellow-christians, not only sustained the disgrace of imperfection or negligence, but felt the reproaches of remorse: unable to fulfil his own conceptions, he blamed his want of faith as much as he lamented his deficiency in skill, and was excited to more successful efforts by the emulation of the artist, and the enthusiasm of the Christian.

The innumerable statues that still remain, after all that mistaken zeal, or protestant intolerance (for the Reformers were not without errors) have been able to destroy, are the best proof of the regular and extensive effect of Catholicism, in the improvement and cultivation of the arts. The multiplicity of the works of art, and the baneful influence of the Reformation in its progress, are both exemplified in the history of Henry the VIIIth, as a Reformer. He issued a proclamation, by which all images whatever were commanded to be destroyed. The work of destruction began, and was continued for nearly six weeks, when accident alone prevented its completion: yet such was the multitude of statues and images, and so great was the excellence of their execution, that though it is to be presumed that the best and most conspicuous productions became the first objects of iconoclastic fury, and though the mandate of the king was obeyed with the united elacivry of zeal and servility, the number of the

works even of those that have remained, is so great as to have deserved our astonishment and admiration, even supposing them to have been all that had originally existed.

It was not by the mere destruction of images, that the Reformation was productive of injury to the fine arts; but by the introduction of a penurious and puritanical spirit. From hating the reliques of Catholicism, they proceeded to condemn and to discountenance the instruments of their production; because the beauty and sublimity of human workmanship had been displayed in the productions of *idolatry*: the skill that produced them, and the qualities they displayed, became themselves the objects of fear or disgust. In progress of time, external ornament began to be regarded as indicative of popish feelings, or characteristic of idolatry: he who wished to display the sincerity of his Protestantism, found it necessary to frequent an humble and unadorned place of worship; and whatever decorum or magnificence the English Church has been able to preserve, it has secured by the secession, rather than the amelioration, of its puritanical members.

It might have been imagined, indeed, that of whatever disadvantages to the progress of *sculpture* the Reformation may have been the cause, it would at least release it from the trammels of uniformity: that the monotonous groups, which

adorned the temples of Christian worship, would have given way to the productions of vigorous, unrestrained, and sportive fancy. But it was soon discovered, that by ceasing to do one thing well, the great body of sculptors did many things imperfectly or extravagantly. Instead of displaying variety of excellence, they exhibited deformity under every shape, and in every mode of combination. The regions of profane fable were yet unknown, and they created an imaginary and hideous world of monsters and chimeras.

Even the saying of mass for the souls of the dead, and many other ceremonies connected with the Catholic faith, as prescribed by the Romish ritual, were of essential utility in promoting the progress of general art, and contributing to the encouragement of the inferior as well as the higher branches of design. The vanity of the rich and the emulation of the poor excited them to provide for the solemn rites of sepulture and interment with all the means that fortune had bestowed. The remains of the dead were an object not only of casual observation, but of deep anxiety, to the living. The mourners completed a ceremonial, towards which their deceased brother had looked forward before he sunk into the sleep of death. From the hopes of the one and the sympathy of the other, art derived considerable accessions, not so much in the individual skill employed on particular

monuments, or on the repositories of sacred reliques, as by the general impulse communicated to the public mind. Wealth, excited by the hope of posthumous honour, or the fear of posthumous degradation, will do much; the ministers to the laudable anxieties of poverty would contribute by example or suggestion to the excellence of those employed by the princely and the rich; and where there is employment, there will be no want of useful competition. While the productions of art, so effective in assisting the devotion of the Catholics, required an edifice in which they could be exhibited to advantage, the ceremonials of the church, so impressive in their form, demanded for their celebration a structure accordant in sublimity and magnitude with the awful and mysterious rites of which it was the consecrated scene. It became an act of equal taste and piety to render their churches worthy of the paintings and statues by which they were adorned, and to dedicate to the service of religion, structures of which the loftiness and magnificence might correspond with the sublimity of the Catholic ceremonial, and be congenial to the temper of the Catholic religion. The jewels and the works of art, devoted to the Church as the voluntary offerings of the living, or the legacies of the dead, at once required of a grateful clergy, that they should be exhibited to the view of the devout, in edifices of appropriate grandeur; and enabled them to gratify the pride of en-

thusiasm, while they fulfilled their duty to their benefactors. The dedication of a superb edifice to the service of the Catholic religion was, therefore, an act of equal necessity and facility. The wealth of the Christian community was at the command of its spiritual guides, in the form of donations or bequests. The avaricious or the lukewarm, who during their lives had been contented with the payment of their legal proportion to the support of the Catholic establishment, frequently contributed to its revenues, by their anxiety to obtain the ceremonial of the mass, and the other less important rites of sepulture: and the friends and relatives of the deceased person spared no expense, to do honour to his memory, or to redeem him from the pains of purgatory, by liberal contributions to the clergy.

The religious structures, therefore, that remain to testify the piety and magnificence of former ages, were erected in the unrestrained spirit of religious enthusiasm, conscious of extensive resources, and animated to exertion by every motive of temporal ambition, and of future hope; and directed by a lofty ardour of conception, accordant with the character of the Catholic worship. But the progress of the Reformation, not only taught the people to abhor the appearance of pomp in architecture, as indicative of Catholicism; but to regard it as unsuitable to the simplicity of the forms of Lutheran

and Calvinistic worship. On the continent the lofty structures that had commanded the reverence of their forefathers were divided by the disciples of Calvin into miserable compartments, and divested of their ornaments, or deserted for edifices of coarser materials, confined extent, and unadorned proportions. In England the same causes conspired to divert the people from the preservation of ancient structures, or from the erection of any edifices of similar extent and magnificence, and to circumscribe the exertions of those less cautious, or less bigoted Reformers, who believed that simplicity might be united with grandeur, and decorum with elegance. After the reign of Elizabeth, the religious structures were erected by forced contributions on the subject, and except in one or two instances, under the superintendence of Sir Christopher Wren, were circumscribed in their extent by attention to considerations of economy. In the times of Catholicism the expense of a structure like St. Paul's might have been defrayed by a small proportion of the offerings presented to its tutelary saint, or the bequests it had obtained for the celebration of the mass. If Henry the VIIIth had undertaken a great work, his subjects would cheerfully have contributed to its erection by voluntary gifts; and the monarch, who exhausted his treasury in the accomplishment of similar undertakings, even while he acknowledged the immensity of the revenues in the hands of the clergy, obtained

the applause of his subjects for his piety, instead of exciting their clamours by his injustice or profusion.

The observer, who compares the magnitude, the number, and the magnificence of the structures erected within the compass of three hundred years (between A. D. 1000 and A. D. 1400), with the progress of ecclesiastical architecture in England, since the accession of Elizabeth, will find no hesitation in admitting, that within any twenty years of that period, a greater amount of architectural taste, and of wealth and enthusiasm to render that taste effectual, was called into action, than during the whole of the 17th or 18th centuries. The labours of Sir Christopher Wren, unremitted and extensive as they were, scarcely effected so great a progress in ecclesiastical architecture, as was conceived and executed by men whose names are now forgotten. The very conception of Henry the VIIth's chapel demonstrates an enthusiasm of feeling, and a confidence in the limitless extent of his resources, that at once exalts the character of the architect, and evinces the spirit of the age, as operated upon by the character of its religion.* Whatever may be the ultimate decision of men of taste, on the comparative ex-

* The observations contained in this Section, are ably and amply illustrated in Mr. Britton's excellent work, now in the course of publication, entitled *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*.

cellencies of Grecian and Gothic architecture, it must be admitted that in England the productions of the admirers of the ancients bear no comparison, even as works of genius and taste, with those of the Catholic artists. Even St. Paul's, the greatest effort of English Protestantism, would not have existed but for the model and the example afforded by Catholic enthusiasm. And what comparison can even this structure, and many of the most celebrated efforts of the same architect sustain, with the classical structures that, beneath the sway of Catholicism, have exalted modern Rome into the rival of its parent ?

The religious enthusiasm of the people of Italy, and the peculiar bias of the Catholic religion in that portion of Europe, were restrained and directed, by the models of ancient architecture continually occurring to their view, and operating with imperceptible influence on their architectural taste: but the northern nations, having no models to imitate, yet excited by the same devotional feelings, struck out a new path of architectural science ; and by the united force of piety and genius, accomplished the erection of those mighty and picturesque structures, which strike the vulgar with awe, and the judicious with admiration. Every form of grace is exhibited in these wonderful fabricks, ennobled by the most lofty magnificence, and varied by the most exhaustless ingenuity. To him who

estimates the excellence of a building by the rule and compass, or admits nothing to be excellent that was not invented by the Greeks and admired by the Romans, the beauty and magnificence of Gothic architecture may be invisible ; but by all who possess susceptibility of feeling, or in whom a cultivated taste directs, rather than represses, the enthusiasm of sentiment, the productions of Gothic art must excite the most lively emotions of pleasure, astonishment, and veneration.

It would appear, therefore, that the natural consequence of the Reformation has been to deprave our taste for Grecian architecture, to reduce the Protestants, even as the imitators of the classical models, beneath the level of their Catholic predecessors and contemporaries, to circumscribe the operation of that small portion of taste which actually remained ; and to render their efforts even less successful and less extensive. It has also tended to retard the progress, and prevent the arrival at perfection of that style of Gothic architecture, which is in its present state so worthy of our admiration, and which, had the same stimulus to its pursuit, and the same means of advancing it continued to exist, would have probably, been modified into a perfect system, as regular in its laws and proportions, as effective in its combinations.

The unfavourable influence of the Reformation on the arts may be regarded, however, as more than counterbalanced, by its propitious

effect on the world of literature. That its tendency, indeed, was exclusively beneficial to the interests of learning or the belles lettres, cannot be admitted; and that many of the revolutions in poetical taste, and on general science, must be ascribed to causes that would have operated, had the Reformation never been effected, it does not become the candour or the honesty of a Protestant writer to deny. The history of poetry and the other departments of elegant literature, does not justify us in supposing that its immediate operation was in any degree favourable to refinement of taste, or to the successful flights of poetical genius. The most celebrated poets and historians of modern Europe—men whose genius was only equalled by their learning and their taste—Tasso, Guarini, Metastasio, Ariosto, and Boccaccio, were natives of Italy, and sincere Catholics. Many of them existed before the Reformation, and yet displayed a freedom of excursion into the regions of profane literature, of which a Protestant might not be ashamed. The solemn and lofty character of the Catholic worship is chiefly observable when it ennobles their images, and exalts their sentiments. It would appear *a priori*, indeed, that the influence of the Reformation on the poetical taste of the continental converts, must have been in some degree injurious. It dissipated the habits and the emotions that must have been impressed and excited by the frequent contemplation of Catholic magnificence, and by the frequent participation of the

awful and magnificent ceremonies of the Church. In place of these, it substituted an austerity of manner which characterized even those individuals who had no regard to strictness of conduct, and taught even the most enlightened Protestants to regard every description of tasteful illusion, or splendid display, as partaking of sinfulness and idolatry. Those pleasing associations which are the offspring of superstition, contribute to the excellence of every production of fancy, and animate and assist the strains of legitimate poetry. From the use of many allusions and images, also, of essential consequence to poetical effect, the continental Protestants were excluded; and even in England a large proportion of the community regarded the "holy anthem sounding from afar," and the "full-drawn tone of the organ," as reliques of the most detestable idolatry.

In Germany and the Netherlands, indeed, poetry had not flourished, and, therefore, could not be degraded by the progress of the Reformation; but it is not unreasonable to presume that the latent predisposition to that art, so evident in all communities emerging from a state of comparative barbarism and oppression, was repressed by the austere plainness of external observance, and the abhorrence of every thing united with their former superstition. Part of the English Reformers, indeed, held a middle course; they preserved in their ceremonials a

mixture of grandeur and simplicity, and this association at once ennobles and animates the poetry of Milton.

Though the history of Italy, however, disproves the supposition that the Reformation had a favourable influence on literary taste, and the annals of our own country tend to corroborate our conclusion, its tendency to develop much more useful faculties than poetical genius, and to assist the human mind in its investigation of the most useful and important subjects, cannot be disputed. In all that relates to the conduct of man, to the knowledge of his mental structure, and to the gratification of his natural aptitude for knowledge, the Protestants have proceeded with a progress to which the Catholic religion would have presented the most insurmountable obstacles. The Reformation not only relieved philosophy from the oppression of a religion that abhorred the very approaches to unbounded inquiry, but by the exercise that it gave to the faculties of man, and by the example it afforded of extrication from ancient prejudices, contributed to the activity as well as the freedom of investigation. The very act of thinking differently from the Church of Rome restored an individual to the full exercise of his faculties. He who burst asunder the fetters of habit and education would not rest contented with the devotion of his talents to theological questions: he would employ the powers of which he had recovered the

exercise, in making incursions into the regions of science and philosophy.

Of the innumerable men of genius, who have discussed the laws of intellectual association, who have investigated the motives of human action, and extended the progress of knowledge in spite of the opposing bulwarks of prejudice and authority : the intellectual acuteness would not have been awakened in Catholic countries, nor been devoted to subjects so dangerous to the authority of a church that professed to be infallible. Nor does it detract from the correctness of this reasoning, that the philosophers of France have displayed a boldness of investigation more than equal to that of the English and German metaphysicians. But for the example of Puffendorf and Grotius, Mallebranche and Montesquieu would never have written. In the early writers of France, their liberality of sentiment may be traced to their collision with the great body of their fellow Protestants, and in later times, philosophy has only been another name for atheism and licentiousness.

In the paths of theology, the progress of the first Reformers was rapid and successful. Their inquiries were conducted with the energy of truth, condemned to struggle against the sophistries of authority and the prejudices of the world. To give a reason for the hope that was in him, became the duty of every man who

did not wish to be considered as an impious deserter of religion, and a renegado from a faith of which it was possible that he might only dislike the restrictions and austerity. The founders of a new sect, or the seceders from an established worship, are equally excited by the necessity of justifying their own conduct, and of obtaining proselytes. Luther and Calvin were urged to the composition of their theological works by a regard to their personal authority, as the leaders of their respective sects, and by the expedience of refuting the calumnious sophistries of their enemies, as much as by any previous attachment to ecclesiastical or theological literature. Even after the Protestant faith had obtained, in England, a settled pre-eminence, the remembrance of a struggle so arduous as that in which it had lately been victorious, and the contemplation of the still formidable means of re-ascendency that remained in the hands of the Catholics, impressed the Reformers with the necessity of unremitted activity and constant vigilance. The names of Cudworth and Baxter, with those of their predecessors and contemporaries, evince the anxiety of the members of the English church to guard the people from the deception of the Catholic doctrines, and the learning and ability which that anxiety tended to develop. Among the Catholic clergy, freedom of inquiry was restrained by the conviction of the infallibility of the Church, and by the fear of exciting the curiosity of the vulgar, respecting truths in

which it would be better that their faith should be implicit, than that their understanding should be enlightened. But the reformed divines were excited to extensive and varied inquiry by the very causes that restrained or forbade the investigations of their Catholic predecessors and opponents. They believed that the more deeply they fathomed the resources of theological knowledge, and of ecclesiastical history, the greater would be their triumph over the doctrines and reasonings of catholicism. Ancient and modern history, therefore, every department of learning, and every branch of science, became the subjects of their research, and afforded them the materials of argument. The erudition of the scholar was animated and enforced by the earnestness of the divine, and the enthusiasm of the Reformer. Productions of which the materials must have demanded a long continuance of almost unexampled industry, and bearing in their expression the character of solemn and fervid eloquence, remain to testify at once the labour and the zeal of these celebrated men.

But it was in the science and practice of politics that the influence of the Reformation was most strikingly observable. The members of the Catholic church, accustomed to regard their spiritual superiors as the delegates of heaven, resigned all sense of personal independence, and every power of volition to their ecclesiastical superiors. The practice of auricular confession

was admirably calculated to induce a habit of submission to their spiritual guides, and to imbue them with a spirit of general dependence and subservience. The Catholic regarded the lights of his church with a reverence bordering on devotion, and so intimately was the ecclesiastical united with the temporal power that, except in extreme cases, to offend the majesty of the sovereign, was not only violating a political duty, but a religious obligation.

The divine right of kings was, during the supereminence of Catholicism, a doctrine universally received; and while the monarch did nothing to incur the anger of the head of the church, he possessed in himself the united attributes of the political governor, and the spiritual guardian. But the ideas of regal infallibility, and the reverence for absolute power, vanished with the downfall of the papal supremacy. The spirit of free inquiry, extended from theology to politics: they who had not been afraid to deny the infallibility, or defy the despotism, of the Pope, could not be expected to entertain a greater portion of delicacy for the temporal princes of Europe: they discussed without fear or restraint, the relation between the monarch and his subjects; and the favour of the head of the church, that had been so lately the chief security of every Christian sovereign, was now a substantial pretext for the disobedience of his people. The multitude who had, within the

period of a few years, been admitted in most of the reformed countries to some share in the government of the church, were excited, by the novel and unexpected exercise of power, to extend their authority over the civil as well as the spiritual departments of the state; and that universal suffrage which had first been exercised in the election of their spiritual superiors, was observed to be capable of beneficial extension to the choice or approval of their civil governors.

SECTION IX.

On the Influence of the Reformation on Religion and Morals in general.

IN forming an estimate of the real influence which the Reformation had on religion and morals, it will be necessary to inquire into the extent of the change which that event produced in regard to religious opinions; and to make some observations concerning that diversity of sentiment on almost every point of Christian doctrine and worship which the Reformation naturally engendered.

We have seen, that till the period of the Reformation, though there, undoubtedly, had long been a considerable diversity of opinions respecting the minor parts of the Christian faith, and

more particularly concerning various branches of church discipline, the general creed of Christians had never been infringed upon, to any great extent, since it was settled and defined by the first Council of Nice.

The *Faith* of Catholics has, at all times, and in all places, been ever the same.—The *Opinions* of private individuals, members of that great and general community, have varied. But, long before the Reformation, large portions of Christians, in various parts of the world, had been either not subject to the papal see, or, if properly belonging to that communion, were privileged with various exemptions, and tolerated in some customs and opinions, which the peculiar nature of their circumstances or countries might obviously require.

In Europe, the Greek Church was early separated from the papal jurisdiction; but they retained all the great and obvious tenets of the Roman Catholic faith; and the Greek schismatics were hardly chargeable with the crime of heresy, according to the common acceptance of that term. It is chiefly on points of discipline that the Roman and Grecian churches differ. The Muscovites, who have their peculiar Patriarch of Moscow, may be considered nearly in the same light as the members of the Greek church.

Asia was very early distinguished by several sorts of Christians ; as those of Palestine, under the Patriarch of Jerusalem ; the Syrians, or Melchites, under the Patriarch of Antioch ; the Armenians, under the two Catholic Patriarchs ; the Georgians, under their respective Metropolitans ; the Mingrellians, Circassians, and Christians of Asia Minor, under the Constantinopolitan Patriarch ; a few Christians in the same quarter of the globe, under the Patriarch of Moscow ; the Nestorians, under the Patriarch of Mousul ; the Jacobite Monophysites, under their peculiar Patriarch ; the Christians of St. Thomas ;* and, lastly, the Mamelukes, under their own Patriarch. To these Asian Christians might be added ; those who were subject to the Emir of Sidon ; the Mordwits, between the Russias and Tartary ; and the Christians, inhabiting the great isle of Tarobana and the islands adjoining.

* In a Chaldee Breviary, entitled *Gaza*, belonging to the church of Malabar, there is the following singular enumeration of the good deeds performed by St. Thomas :—" By St. Thomas, the error of idolatry vanished from India : by St. Thomas, the Chinese and Ethiopians were converted to the truth : by St. Thomas, they received the Sacrament, and the adoption of sons : by St. Thomas, they believed and confessed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : by St. Thomas, they kept the faith which they had received in One God : by St. Thomas, the splendour of the life-giving doctrine appeared to all India : by St. Thomas, the kingdom of heaven fled rapidly into China."

Africa, in like manner, has had its divisions of Christians; particularly, the Egyptians, or Copts, under the Patriarch of Alexandria; and the Ethiopian Christians, subject to their Abunna, or Patriarch of Ethiopia.

On examining the several creeds or formularies of these various denominations, it will appear, though they added, in a few cases, many absurd opinions and superstitious practices to the leading articles of faith, held by the churches of Rome or of Constantinople, they might be regarded rather as schismatics than as heretics, and as differing, in doctrinals, but very slightly from the universal Church. Unless, indeed, we may except the Nestorians,* whose opinions, or

* Some of my readers will think that notice should have been taken of the ancient Culdees. I have read Mr. Jamieson's very curious and interesting account of the Culdees of Iona. But I am convinced that little reliance ought to be placed on the vague and meagre Culdean history. The Culdees were certainly not of Scottish but of Irish origin, and were in fact attached to the Roman episcopacy, though they were, particularly in Scotland under their first teacher, Columba, privileged with certain favours, in having a sort of chief abbot or presbyter governor, to whom, as Bede informs us, the whole province, and even the bishops themselves, by an unusual constitution, were subject. Columba himself was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk. Whatever might have been the peculiar character of the discipline or government of the monks of Iona, their leading articles of faith were, doubtless, conformable to the Catholic creed. The reader may consult, along with Mr. Jamieson's work on this subject, the Columbanus ad Hibernos of Doctor O'Conner, No. IV. p. 40, et seq.

rather whose phraseology, respecting the Virgin Mary, whom they style the Mother of Christ, instead of the Mother of God, as the Latins phrase it, had some resemblance to the notions of the Arians. Since the origin of the Nestorian sect, a considerable change has taken place in regard to their opinions about the two natures in Christ. Many of them verged into a more consistent orthodoxy ; and the Pope has now, I believe, a titular Patriarch of Mousul.

This point of the analogy of the Latin and Greek dogmas will be clearly illustrated by the following testimonies :

“ With Rome the Greek Church concurs in the opinion of transubstantiation ; and, generally, in the sacrifice and whole body of the mass.”*

Dr. Potter† and Bishop Forbes‡ tell us, “ That the question in the Florentine Council, between the Latins and Greeks, was not whether the bread of the Eucharist were substantially changed into the body of Christ or not, but by what particular words this wonderful change was effected.”

* Sandys' Relation of West. Religions, p. 233.

† Potter's Answer to Charity Mistaken, p. 225.

‡ Forbes' De Luc. lib. i. c. c. 3. p. 412.

“ The sacrifice of the mass is also used by the Greeks for the quick and the dead.”*

“ The Greeks of Venice, and all other Greeks, adore Christ in the Eucharist; and who dare either impeach or condemn all these Christians of idolatry ?”†

“ The Greeks reckon seven sacraments, the same with the Church of Rome.”‡ “ And are no less for Church authority and tradition than Roman Catholics; agreeing with Rome, too, in praying to saints, in auricular confession, in offering of sacrifice and prayers for the dead, and placing much of their devotion in their worship not only of the blessed Virgin Mary, but in the intercession, prayers, help, and merit of other saints, whom they invoke in their temples.”§

“ The Greeks of note are obliged to confess four times a year; the priests obliging them to confess every thing, saying they cannot otherwise release them.”||

“ Though they do not hold a purgatory

* Ross' View of the Religions of Europe, p. 479.

† Forbes, Cons. Imodes de Euch. p. 442.

‡ Atlas Geographicus, v. 2. p. 1724.

§ Ross' View, &c., p. 479.

|| Atlas Geographicus, p. 172.

fire, yet they believe a third place between that of the blessed and the damned, where they remain who have deferred repentance till the end of their life : but if this be not purgatory, I know not what it is, nor what souls do there !”*

Archbishop Whitgift, in his defence against Cartwright,* adds the doctrines of free will, merits, &c.

It was not, therefore, on any of the above-named classes of Christians, that the Reformation had any material effect, except, indeed, as was natural, that of causing some of them to rally round the Catholic Church, to oppose, as they imagined, the common enemy, the Lutherans, Calvinists, Zuinglians, and other Protestants.

That great and immutable principle, THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT IN MATTERS OF RELIGION, having been once acknowledged, it was no longer in the power either of Catholics, or the Reformers of Catholics, who do not appear to have been themselves aware of the lengths to which that principle would carry the human mind, to stem the

* Tract, p. 473. The reader is referred, for a fuller view of this subject, to Mr. Woodhead's Guide in Controversies, ch. 3. c. 8. s. 82. Protestant Apology, p. 30—32,

impetuous stream of liberty which burst forth on the Christian world. "Let every man be fully persuaded in HIS OWN MIND," was a text on which myriads began to descant, who had never before listened to any others, except—"Thou art Peter—feed my lambs—feed my sheep:" and "*Hear the Church.*" Priests had long ridden the people, and now the people, having obtained their *liberty in Christ*, determined in their turn to ride the priests. Wherever the Reformation took effect, authority was at an end: yet a struggle for mastery ensued. It was the emancipation of intellect, and a thousand speculations, some rational and modest, others wild and unruly, were indulged, to the astonishment of many, and the grief of more. All pretended to antiquity; every one pleaded the authority and sanction of scripture, the earliest fathers, and general councils of the Church, the example of the Saviour, and the precepts of his apostles. From the self-same premises, the most contradictory conclusions were deduced; yet all and every of them claimed a suitable portion of infallibility and authority. In no point were the jarring Reformers so agreed as in their hearty abhorrence of the Church which they had all deserted:

" 'Twas Babel, Antichrist, and Pope, and Devil."

On a sudden, a new flood of light burst upon the wondering sight of multitudes. Articles of faith, opinions, forms, and practices, held sacred

for centuries by the whole Christian world, were discarded, ridiculed, abhorred, and condemned, as blasphemous, idolatrous, damnable, heretical, dangerous to the souls of men, inimical to the peace and well-being of society, derogatory to the honour of God, and subversive of truth, reason, and common sense. Men stared with astonishment, and were ready to beat themselves with vexation, to think they should have been reading the prophecies of Daniel, the epistles of St. Paul, and the apocalypse of St. John from their youth up, and could never before discover, that the one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, was all the while nothing more nor less than the mystical Babylon—a whore, a scarlet whore, a drunken scarlet whore—nay, the very mother of harlots, bloated with the wine of her abominations; reeling and intoxicated with the blood of the saints, and ripe for the sickle of God's eternal vengeance. This discovery, however it might shock the timid and fearful, gladdened the hearts of those who had courage to make head against the beast; and these courageously resolved not only to “hate the whore,” but to “make her desolate and naked, eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.”* Before

* Those who are acquainted with the writings of our earliest Reformers, and particularly with those of Luther, will know that in this and other places, where I have alluded to their spirit and language, when speaking of the Pope and other

all this could be accomplished, it was evident that some better Church should be planted. A Christian country without a Christian Church would have been like a head without a body, or a body without a soul. Therefore, every one proceeded, forthwith, to strike out such a model as suited best his own views of the matter; and doctors and theologians, of every possible description, took their seats among the learned or the unlearned, as the case might happen to be, in almost every town of Germany, Holland, England, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and other places :

“ All quit their spheres, and rush into the skies.”

This was the natural result of unrestrained inquiry; nor should the principle itself be condemned because of the ill use which enthusiasts and fanatics have made of it. Differences of religious opinions cannot possibly be injurious either to divine truth or to Christian morals; upon the whole, they are rather useful: it is only when men become intolerant and presumptuous, that their opinions are really hurtful. With as much consistency might a pious Jew cast reproaches on Christianity, because it is

other Catholic prelates, not the slightest exaggeration has been used. On the contrary, it is a fact that scurrility, even to the most indecent and immodest extent, was not unfrequently resorted to by Luther and others. See particularly tom. ii. and vii. of his works.

attended with a diversity of opinions, as the Catholics condemn the Reformation, and the great principle on which it is founded, on account of the many sects and parties of which it has been the innocent cause. But while I assert this truth, I can see no reason whatever for withholding from public reprehension, those bitter animosities which the Reformers indulged against the Catholics, and even against one another, on many points of doctrine and modes of discipline. The best and most impartial Protestant writers have uniformly condemned the rancour and ill-blood which actuated the Reformers on many occasions. Brandt, Mosheim, and his learned translator, have depicted, with just severity, the spirit and conduct of some of the earliest Protestants. But, as Dr. Maclaine justly remarks,* "bad men may be, and often are, embarked in the best of causes; as such causes afford the most specious mask to cover mercenary views, or to disguise ambitious purposes."

The Reformation, however, has been of incalculable benefit to the Christian world, inasmuch as it has established a principle, the operation of which will one day destroy every doctrine and practice that has not the plainest injunctions of revelation, and the most obvious reason for its

* Appendix I. vol. iv. p. 136, of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.

support, and exhibit the pure and undefiled faith of Jesus, free from every corruption and every entanglement with which its officious nursing-fathers have so long clogged and embarrassed it. This being the case, we should reflect with candour on the errors, and with gratitude on the labours, of that intrepid band of Reformers, who first taught us to withstand the courtly enemies of liberty, and to look without dismay on the threats and anathemas of bigoted priests and superstitious prelates. And we have an additional motive for thus regarding with some allowance, the mistakes of the Reformers, in the reflection, that the Reformation has had a beneficial effect, even on Catholics themselves; who have ceased to employ weapons which experience has convinced them are become useless, and, no longer resorting to the strong arm of power, have quietly returned to the mild and legitimate warfare of reason, scripture, and fair argumentation. Their doctrines remain the same; but their general method of defending them is materially changed for the better; and the spirit that has dictated this wiser course has been revived and encouraged just in proportion as the genius of the Protestant doctrines, or rather we should say, the great and fundamental principle of Protestantism, has been extended and understood. Besides: the vigilance and prudence of Catholics have been kept alive by the consideration, that their actions are constantly under the scrutinizing eye of a keen and watch-

ful censor, who will mark their failings, and rigorously weigh all their motives and actions. It is not so much owing to the change that has taken place in doctrinals, for that, in most Protestant churches, is not deserving notice, it is so slight; but to the recognition of that principle, which can never be too much extolled, that men are accountable to God alone for their religious opinions; and that they have a natural right to make the best use they are able of their own reason in the choice of their religion, that the Reformation has been of benefit. And if Protestants have not yet availed themselves of the full extent of their principles, it is because they do not yet see the entire victory which, under God, they have achieved over *spiritual wickedness in high places*. We are still in the morning of a gospel day: but the glorious luminary of truth advances rapidly to its meridian splendour. Already the fogs disperse—the noxious mists begin to evaporate, and soon will the Christian world be illuminated by the invigorating rays of the divine effulgence; and the fair and lovely form of truth appear freed from the shackles of human establishments, obnoxious tests, persecuting laws, unmeaning mysteries, priestly and courtly frauds, contradictory and ridiculous creeds, and impositions and anathemas, as pointless as they are absurd, and as useless as they are false. Then shall the slanders of infidelity be for ever silenced, the clamours of enthusiasm,

and the fires of fanaticism cease to annoy the "way-faring man;" *Jehovah* shall be One, and his NAME ONE; and his only begotten Son Jesus, "the first-born of every creature," the beginning of the creation of God," the first of all created intelligences, be confessed by Christians as the Messenger of Peace, and the restorer of every good and perfect gift. Then will men love as brethren, and lay aside their narrow prejudices, their party railings, and unsocial animosities, esteeming it of infinitely greater moment, that they should unite together for mutual happiness and practical godliness, than to be able to discern the minute shades of error in each other's creed, or even the bolder features of mistake, which now so unhappily disunite and distract the Christian world.*

But to return to our inquiry into the real extent of the change produced by the Reformation on the religious opinions of professing Christians; and this, it will appear, is not near so great as many are led to imagine. But, indeed, there is some difficulty in making the estimate: for among the various divisions and subdivi-

* The real lovers of union and peace, will be pleased and edified by the perusal of the *Reflections*, annexed to the 12th edition of Mr. Evans's liberal and useful volume, entitled *A Sketch of Denominations*; as also by the SEQUEL to that work, 4th ed.

sions which have resulted from the Reformation, some dissented much more than others from the faith and worship of the Catholic Church. I speak, however, of the majority of Protestants, and of those doctrines which the bulk of the Reformed churches retained; as also of the new tenets which Luther and others introduced.

Taking up, or rather preserving, the old opinion, that there cannot be two acceptable methods of worshipping God, or of viewing his attributes,* the early Reformers and later Protestants, have found themselves somewhat embarrassed in their dissent; yet, however they may dislike the church of Rome, and her ritual, they still acknowledge that she is a *true Church*,

* "As we believe in one God, so we most constantly believe, that there hath been, now is, and to the end shall be, one Kirk; out of which Kirk neither life nor felicity is to be hoped for, or had; and, therefore, we utterly abhor the blasphemy of those who affirm, that men, who live according to equity and justice, shall be saved, in whatever religion they may have lived." *Original Profession of the Kirk of Scotland*. Art. 16. The same sentiment is continued by the Westminster Divines, and approved and ratified by Parliament, A. D. 1649.

The Church of England, in like manner, A. D. 1612, through the medium of her supreme head, thus declares: "The king believes, without fallacy or distrust, that there is but one true Church, called Universal, or Catholic, out of which he holds no salvation is to be expected." *Casauboni ad Epist.*

orthodox in all fundamental points, and that salvation is to be attained in her communion.* Luther himself, when writing against the Anabaptists, says thus: " I confess, that under the papacy are many good Christian things; nay, all that is good in Christianity. And that we had them from thence, for I acknowledge, that in popery is the true scripture; true baptism; the true sacrament of the altar; true keys for the remission of sin; true office of preaching; true catechism; the ten commandments; and the articles of faith. Nay, I say, that in popery is true Christianity, even the very kernel of

Epist. Card. Perron. Responsio pro Rege, p. 10. Ed. London. 1612.

The Reformed Church of France also declares, that out of the Church there is nothing but death and damnation. " For," says she, " doubtless, all such as separate from the society of the faithful, and form a sect apart, can never expect salvation." *Vide the Gallican Reformed Catechism, p. 283. Amsterdam Ed. 1710.* This sentiment has been maintained by numerous Protestant writers of eminence, since the Reformation. The reader may consult *Calvin. Inst. lib. iv. c. i. § iv. Luth. on the 47th of Gen. tom. vi. Perkins on the Rev. p. 308. Abp. Tillotson, v. 6. p. 245, et seq. Pearson on the Creed, p. 349. Ed. 1669.* Indeed, we are all too much in the habit of making our own particular church, or sect, the only way to the kingdom of heaven.

* I am aware that Tillotson, and some others, have affected to doubt of the salvation of Catholics; or, at least, they have deemed it dangerous to hold communion with so corrupt and idolatrous a church. I have, however, too high an
opinion

Christianity." This opinion has been held by a host of Protestant writers since the Reformation.* It is a feature in the history of the Catholic church of considerable importance, inasmuch as it shews, that the objections which Protestants urge against their Catholic brethren, are by no means so serious, or well founded, as many are led to suppose; and the friends of peace will always be ready to embrace every opportunity of weakening the grounds of war and opposition. However it may be, it is a subject closely connected with a view of the influence of the Reformation on religion and morals.†

The change which the Reformation introduced, respecting religious opinions, was, undoubtedly, favourable, as far as it went, to the real doctrines of the scriptures. As far as I have

opinion of these Protestants to believe they were quite serious in these surmises. The authors of the *Irish Protestant Charter-School Catechism*, and Dr. Duigenan, may be admitted to have very serious doubts on this point: such men as Tillotson would never have pressed so unworthy a notion.

* The united testimonies of many of them may be seen in that very singular publication, the *Protestant Apology for the Church of Rome*, before referred to. Others are quoted, or referred to, in *Geddes's Modest Apology*.

† The late Dr. Geddes accommodated too much on this point; yet the reader should not fail here to turn to his *Modest Apology*.

been able to gather from an almost infinity of statements, it appears to me, that the main points of difference between the Catholic and the Protestant Churches are the following : Catholics hold the *supremacy*, or rather *primacy*, of the *Bishop of Rome* : Protestants, I mean Protestants of the Church of England,* hold the supremacy of the King, who is the Head of the Church : Catholics contend for the *infallibility of their Church* : Protestants say, that " the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies," but that she is not, therefore, infallible. " The follow-

* But some will say, it is difficult to define the real sentiments and doctrines of the Church of England. There is, certainly, considerable force in this observation. The laxity, or the liberality of the English clergy, I have noticed in a former work (*Portraiture of Methodism*), wherein I have not failed to award to them what I conceived to be a suitable portion of merit for their many public and private virtues. Some few of my dissenting brethren have chosen to be offended on this account.—I am sorry for it ; but am certainly more sorry for their offence, than for the cause of it ; and I here repeat it, that a more learned, candid, and moral body of people, than our English clergy, never existed. The exceptions, considering their numerous temptations, and the rank they hold in society, are comparatively trifling. I am compelled, however, to abate somewhat of my admiration of the public conduct of most of our Right Reverend Bishops. It is a lamentable indication of great deficiency of the true spirit of Protestantism, that only one or two of the whole bench should choose to avow themselves the friends of Catholic Emancipation. They have not succeeded in clearing the Church of heretics, though they have taken away the bread of poor
Mr.

ing quotation," remarks Dr. Geddes,* "from a Dedication to Clement XI., prefixed to Sir Richard Steele's *Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion*, will, perhaps, explain how matters stand in this respect, between Catholics and Protestants:—"YOUR HOLINESS is not aware, how near the Churches of *us* Protestants have at length come to those privileges and perfections which *you* boast of as peculiar to your own: so near, that many of the most quick-sighted and sagacious persons have not been able to discover any difference between us, as to the main principle of all *doctrine, government, worship, and discipline*—but this one, viz. That *YOU* *cannot* err in any thing you determine; and *WE* *never do*. That is to say, in other words, that *YOU* are *infallible*, and *WE* always *in the right*. . . . And you must pardon us, if we cannot help thinking it to be as great and as glorious a privilege in *US*, to be always in the right, without

Mr. Stone. We have still professed Swedenborgian clergymen; many known Unitarians; and an odd mixture of Calvinistic Predestinarians, who adhere to the strict letter of the 17th Art.; and of Arminians, who, with the venerable Bishop of Lincoln at their head, can see nothing Calvinistic in the whole book of Common Prayer. Nay, we have now in our church, at least one clergyman who is an avowed believer in the dreams and vagaries of Joanna Southcott. It is not, however, from this heterogeneous mass, but from generally received authorities, that I speak concerning the doctrines of the Establishment.

* *Modest Apology*, p. 71—72.

the pretence to infallibility, as it can be in **YOU** to be always in the wrong with it. Thus the Synod of Dort, the Councils of the Reformed in France, the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and, if I may presume to name it, the Convocation of England, have been all found to have the very same unquestionable authority which your Church claims upon the infallibility which resides in it; and the people to be under the very same strict obligation of obedience to their determinations, which, with you, is the consequence of an absolute infallibility. The reason, therefore, why we do not openly set up an infallibility is, because we *can do without it*. Authority results as well from **POWER** as from **RIGHT**; and a majority of votes is as strong a foundation for it, as infallibility itself. Councils that *may* err, never *do*: and, besides, being composed of men whose peculiar business is to *be in the right*, it is very immodest for any private person to think them *not so*: because this is to set up a *corrupted private* understanding, above a *public uncorrupted* judgment. Thus it is in the north as well as in the south, abroad as well as at home; all maintain the exercise of the same authority in themselves, which yet they know not how so much as to speak of without ridicule in others!"

Another difference between the two Churches regards the number and nature of the *Sacraments*. Catholics have *seven sacraments*—Pro-

testants have *two* only. *Baptism* is admitted by both Churches, and so is the *Eucharist*, or *Lord's Supper*. Though *Confirmation* is appointed by the Reformed Churches as a sacred rite, it has not been considered as "generally necessary to salvation;" but in the Catholic Church it is reckoned a sacrament. In the same light, also, is the institution of *Marriage* considered. It is a sacrament in the one Church, and a divine and holy ceremony in the other. *Extreme Unction*, or practice of anointing the sick, is entirely abolished by the Reformation, but preserved as a sacrament among Catholics.—*Penance* is used by both Churches, but regarded as a sacrament by the Catholics only.—*Ordination*, another of the Catholic sacraments, is used also by Protestants; and is regarded as an indispensable ceremony for the conferring of spiritual gifts and powers.

The doctrines, or rather notions, about *Grace* have been various in both Churches; and the same may be remarked of *Sanctification*, *Faith*, and some other points of a similar character. The Calvinistic dogmas concerning *Free-Will* (or, as it might more correctly be denominated, *No-Will*), *Election*, and *Reprobation*, which latter is called by Calvin the *horrible decretum*, the horrible decree—*Justification by Faith alone, without works*—The *Imputation of Christ's Righteousness*, by virtue of a *Predestination to Life*—The *total inability of man to do any thing towards his*

own salvation, &c., seem all to be new inventions of the Reformers. The opinions concerning works of supererogation; auricular confession; purgatory; with the practice of praying for the dead—The invocation of Saints—The veneration of holy images, pictures, and relics—The celibacy of the clergy—The withholding the cup from the laity in the Eucharist—The use of the Latin tongue in the mass;—and some other practices and institutions, as the utility of tradition, monastic institutions, pilgrimages, indulgences, beads, rosaries, &c. &c., were, for the most part, rejected by the Reformers.

It will readily be seen, that the influence of the Reformation on religious opinions and practices, has not materially affected the great articles of faith, nor has much relation to the Supreme Object of divine worship, or the means of conciliating his favour.

As to the immediate influence of the Reformation on the manners and moral habits of the people, there are but too many unfavourable proofs that little good was done in this way. Brandt, in the Dedication of his History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, draws an unpleasant picture of the spirit of the Reformed Christians, immediately succeeding the Reformation. The Protestants, he observes, have not made a good use of the Reformation; that, instead of innocence, gentleness, humility, and charity, vice,

persecution, hatred, envy, and self-love, have prevailed among them; that every body accommodates the Word of God to his own prejudices; and has a gospel of his own making. The Protestants, he adds, have recourse to the secular arm: they use violent means to gain proselytes. Many of them, when they separated from the Church of Rome, rejected not only what was bad in that Church, but also what was good, or, at least, innocent. They believe, says he, that none but themselves have the truth on their side; and they fancy that every body ought to embrace their opinions. They acknowledge they may fall into error, but they maintain they never do. The learned Cudworth* seems to have entertained a similar opinion of the effects of the Reformation: " 'Tis to be feared," says he, " that many people among us, who throw down idols in churches, set them up in their hearts; and that, whilst we exclaim against paintings upon church windows, we do not scruple to cherish many unlawful passions within us, and to commit idolatry with them." Complaining of the schisms occasioned by the Reformation, we might reckon, says Brandt, above three hundred questions, that are disputed in the Church of Rome, and yet they occa-

* Epistle Dedicatory to the House of Commons, prefixed to a Sermon which he preached to that Assembly, in the year 1647; cited in *Michael de la Roache's Abridgment of Brandt's History of the Reformation*, vol. I. p. iii.

sion no schism among the Catholics. Indeed, it must be confessed, that the hot and furious rancour in which the Reformers indulged against those who agreed not with them in every point, is by no means a favourable specimen of the good effects of the Reformation; though, upon the whole, I have no doubt but that great good has resulted, and will result, to the morals and happiness of mankind, from the Reformation of religion. It is a great pity, that we could not be contented to have used our liberty in Christ without abusing it,—that our earliest friends, and I wish I had no reason to add, our later brethren, had carried their Reformation to their own conduct, and, while they disavowed the principle of persecution in the Church of Rome, they had been equally solicitous to have abstained from the practice of it themselves.*

* Roman Catholics complain, and but too justly, that we do not act fairly towards them, in keeping out of sight our own blemishes, and in magnifying and exposing theirs. By the help of God, I will endeavour to wipe off the reproach. No fears—no censures—no reproaches, shall deter me from holding up to deserved reprobation, the practice of persecution, by whatever party it has been exercised, when I come to treat of that portion of the Catholic History.

PART II.

SECTION I.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINES.

“ Roman Catholick Principles in Reference to God and the King.—Points of Faith literally universal.—Of the Holy Trinity.

THERE is certainly some difficulty attending this part of the subject; but it does not arise from any ambiguity or doubt on the points to be discussed. No doctrines can be more clear or explicit. Would to God they were as true! or, rather, that our Roman Catholic brethren had been as solicitous to “*know* the truth” as they have ever been to preserve and enforce what they have received as such from their forefathers. The great difficulty arises from the multiplicity of documents that are presented as authentic sources of information, and from the limited nature of my plan, to admit a proper and judicious selection. I will, however, adopt the plan suggested by a well-known Protestant writer, and leave the result to the candour and moderation of the Catholic reader.

“ I would ask them [Catholics],” says

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Richard Baxter, the non-conformist,* “whether we or they do better know our religion; and, consequently, what a Protestant is? If they know it at all, it is from our writings or expressions; for sure they will not pretend, without signs, to know our hearts, and that better than ourselves.—You must take it from us, if you will know what our religion is, as we must take it from you, if we will know yours. And, therefore, delude not silly souls by persuading them that you know what our religion is better than we. If you will believe our books that tell you, believe our sayings also, and believe me that here tell you my own religion.” This is a just, and, indeed, the only proper ground to take; and, agreeably to this principle, I shall proceed in laying before the reader the following clear and distinct view of

“ROMAN CATHOLICK PRINCIPLES, IN
REFERENCE TO GOD AND THE KING,

Explained in a Letter to a Friend.†

“SIR,

I FIND your last as full of doubts and in-

* Key for Catholics, pref. p. 5.

† These were first printed in a little pamphlet in the reign of Charles II.; and in here reprinting them, which I do from the

quietudes, as your former was of heat and zeal: whether mere compassion hath altered your judgment, or that you fear your own turn may be next, I cannot tell; but I easily perceive you, and the greatest part of honest thinking Protestants, as well as you, begin, though late, to suspect, that Catholicks have wrongfully suffered the loss of their fame, their goods, their fortunes, and many their lives. Nor do I wonder to see you touched with some concern at our miseries; for besides the sad spectacles of bloudshed, (which I mention without any resentment, or disrespect to the government) the prisons have been filled with us, whole families ruined and exiled, poor widows and innocent orphans have perished through distress, the very woods and deserts have not wanted men dying with cold

the original copy, now before me, I am doing only an act of justice to the Catholics, and am conforming to the rule laid down by Baxter, in his work just mentioned.

The name of the author does not appear. It is said to be "By a Well-Wisher to his Country," and is subscribed *M. B.* The reason given for its being first made public, is "to shew the connexion between the principles it contains, and the late Popish Plot." In the original, there are several marginal notes, and references to the texts of scripture quoted. These I have omitted, as unnecessary; and for the same reason, about two pages at the end, of a conclusion and objections answered, are left out. The other alterations are still more trifling.

and hunger ; and all this upon account of a plot, horrid indeed, and detestable in itself, but which could never yet be proved against us, by any one credible witness, or probable circumstance evincing the crime.

True it is, Dr. Oates, Captain Bedloe, and others, of debauched lives and desperate fortunes, allured by gain, and encouraged by indempnities, have positively sworn (if bare positive swearing, without any other probability of truth, may stand for good evidence), to a multiplicity of particulars. But these men have been, and are, so notoriously stigmatized with all sorts of vice and infamy ; their oaths have been confronted with so many self-contradictions ; their forgeries accompanied with such incredible, such impossible circumstances ; their lyes and fables so stuffed with absurdities, non-sence, and follies ; the crime of perjury so often, so palpably proved against them : in short, both their past and present villainies are now become so apparent and perspicuous, that the greatest part of the nation hath an abhorrence of them.

But you tell me, (and you are in the right) that the thing which hath rendered credible the testimony of otherwise incredible witnesses against us, and which hath invalidated all contrary evidence given in our behalf, is a persuasion many Protestants have, that the Catholick

religion is made up of traitorous principles, destructive to peace and government. You say, you have been informed by common report, by printed books, nay, by some ministers in their very pulpits, that Catholicks hold it an article of faith to believe, that the Pope can depose kings, absolve their subjects from their allegiance, and dispose of kingdoms to whom he please. That to murder Protestants, and destroy the nation by fire and sword, for propagation of the Catholick faith, are works of piety, and meritorious of heaven. These, and the like horrid aspersions, together with I know not what feigned idolatries, superstitions and abuses, are (as you have rightly intimated) laid to the charge of Roman Catholicks, whereby to render both their faith and persons odious to many otherwise well-meaning people, who, not sufficiently examining the truth of things, but taking all for granted, judge nothing ill enough can be said or done against men so principled.

And is it not strange and severe, that principles, and those pretended of faith too, should be imposed upon men, which they themselves renounce and detest? If the Turk's Alcoran should, in like manner, be urged upon us, and we hanged up for Mahometans, all we could do or say in such a case, would be patiently to die, with protestation of our own innocence. And this is the posture of our present condition; we abhor, we renounce, we abominate such prin-

ciples ; we protest against them, and seal our protestations with our dying breaths. What shall we say ? What can we do more ? To accuse men as guilty in matters of faith, which they never owned, is the same thing as to condemn them for matters of fact, which they never did.

You press the question, and say, some of our general councils, several papal decrees, and many of our doctors and divines, assert the aforementioned principles. Sir, I have been instructed in the articles of my faith, and I acknowledge the lawful authority of general councils, yet I profess I never learnt, or found asserted in any of them, such principles. And I propose unto you, this plain and short dilemma ; either the above-named principles are esteemed by us matters of faith, or not. If they be, what farther can be required of us, than to deny and forsake such a faith ? And this we constantly do. But if they be not matters of Catholick faith, nor owned by us as such, why are Catholicks, as Catholicks, punished for them ? Why is our religion persecuted on that account ? Let those in God's name, if any there be of what religion soever, who hold such tenets, suffer for them. Why should the innocent be involved with the guilty ? There is neither reason nor justice in it.

Hereunto some persons (I hope out of zeal and misinformation, rather than malice) stick

not to say, that dispensations, and I know not what indulgences and pardons, whereby to legitimate the crimes of lying and forswearing, when the interest of our church requires, is a main part of our religion; and by consequence, the denial of our principles, is no sufficient justification of our innocence. I answer, first, it is in the highest measure censorious in any one, to impose upon all our ancestours, and the greatest part of mankind, who are, or have been members of our religion, such an excess of folly and wickedness; as must needs have perverted all humane society. Secondly, if we could lawfully deny the principles of our faith, when interest requires, why have we lost our estates, our liberties, our lives, for the profession of it? To what purposes are oaths and tests devised, to entangle us? How impertinently is the frequenting the Protestant church, and receiving the communion, proposed unto us, and refused by us? Thirdly, Though many men may be induced to lye, and forswear, when they have some hopes or prospect thereby of temporal advantage, yet that persons dying for their conscience and religion (as divers have done, and those no fools even by the confession of our adversaries) should be so stupendiously sottish and mad, either to imagine that lyes and perjuries, for concealment of treason, murder, massacre, and destruction of others by fire and sword, should be acts of virtue, pleasing to God, dispensable by the Pope, and meritorious of heaven; or

that, on the contrary, knowing and believing, as needs they must, such monsters and horrors to be odious and detestable in the sight both of God and man, they should, nevertheless, upon the very brink of eternity, wittingly and willingly cast themselves head-long into an assured damnation, and this at a time when they might have saved both bodies and souls, by meerly discharging a good conscience in acknowledging the truth, and becoming honest men; this I say is inhumane, and contradictory to all sense and reason to believe.

Now, therefore, I am come to what you so often and so earnestly press me to, viz. to satisfy the world, and cleare myself, my fellow-sufferers, and my religion, from the imputation laid upon us, on pretence of such principles, by a true and candid explanation of my belief and judgment, in the main points of faith and loyalty, controverted between Catholicks and Potestants as they severally relate to God and the king:

“ Of the Catholick Faith, and Church in general.—1. The fruition of God, and remission of sin, is not attainable by man, otherwise than in and by the merits of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who gratis purchased it for us.

2. These merits of Christ are not applyed to us, otherwise than by a right faith in Christ.

3. This faith is but one, entire and conformable to its object, being divine revelations, to all which faith giveth an undoubted assent.

4. These revelations containe many mysteries, transcending the natural reach of humain wit or industry. Wherefore,

5. It became the divine wisdom and goodness, to provide man of some way or means whereby he might arrive to the knowledge of these mysteries; means visible and apparent to all; means proportionable to the capacityes of all; means sure and certain to all.

6. This way, or means, is not the reading of Scriptures, interpreted according to the private reason or spirit of every disjunctive person, or nation in particular. But,

7. It is an attention and submission to the doctrine of the Catholick or Universal Church, established by Christ for the instruction of all, spread for that end throughout all nations, and visibly continued in a succession of pastors and people throughout all ages: from which Church, guided in truth, and secured from error in matters of faith, by the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, every one may and ought to learn both the right sence of scripture, and all other Christian mysteries and duties, respectively necessary to salvation.

8. This church, thus spread, thus guided, thus visibly continued, in one uniform faith, and subordination of government, is that self-same which is termed the Roman Catholick Church, the qualifications above-mentioned, being applicable to no other church or assembly whatsoever.

9. From the testimony and authority of this church it is, that we receive and believe the scripture to be God's word. And as she can assuredly tell us, this or that book is God's word, so can she with the like assurance, tell us also the true sence and meaning of it in controverted points of faith; the same spirit that writ the scripture, enlightning her to understand both it and all other matters necessary to salvation, From these grounds it followeth,

10. All and only divine revelations delivered by God to the church, and proposed by her to be believed as such, are and ought to be esteemed articles of faith, and the contrary opinions, heresie. And

11. As an obstinate separation from the unity of the church, in known declared matters of faith, is formal heresie; so a wilful separation from the visible unity of the same church, in matters of subordination and government, is formal schism.

12. The church proposeth unto us matters of

faith: First, and chiefly, by the holy scripture, in points plain and intelligible in it. Secondly, by definitions of General Councils, in points not sufficiently explained in scripture. Thirdly, by apostolical traditions, derived from Christ and his Apostles, to all succeeding ages. Fourthly, by her practice, worship, and ceremonies, confirming her doctrine.

“Of Spiritual and Temporal Authority.—1. General Councils (which are the church of God, representative) have no commission from Christ to fraime new matters of faith, (these being sole divine revelations) but only to explain and ascertain unto us, what anciently was, and is received and retained as of faith in the church, upon arising debates or controversies about them. The definitions of which, general Councils in matters of faith only and proposed as such, oblige, under pain of heresie, all the faithful, to a submission of judgement. But

2. It is no article of faith to believe, that general Councils cannot err, either in matters of fact or discipline, alterable by circumstances of time and place; or in matters of speculation or civil policy, depending on meer humane judgement or testimony. Neither of these being divine revelations, deposited in the Catholick church; in regard to which alone she hath the promised assistance of the Holy Ghost. Hence it is deduced:

3. If a general Council (much less a Papal consistory) should undertake to depose a king, and absolve his subjects from their allegiance, no Catholick, as Catholick, is bound to submit to such a decree. Hence, also, it followeth :

4. The subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any Catholick principle, renounce, even upon oath, the doctrine of deposing kings excommunicated for heresie, by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the fundamental laws of the nation, injurious to sovereign power, destructive to the peace and government, and by consequence, in his Majesty's subjects, impious and damnable. Yet not properly heretical, taking the word heretical in that connatural, genuine sence, it is usually understood in the Catholick church ; on which account chiefly it is, that many Catholicks of tender consciences refuse the oath, commonly called the oath of allegiance.

5. Catholicks believe, that the bishop of Rome is the successor of St. Peter, vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, and Head of the whole Catholick church ; which church is therefore fitly styled Roman Catholick, being an universal body united under one visible head. Nevertheless,

6. It is no matter of faith to believe, that the Pope is in himself infallible, separated from a general Council, even in expounding the faith :

by consequence, papal definitions or decrees, though *ex cathedra*, as they term them, oblige none, under pain of heresie, to an interior assent.

7. Nor do Catholicks, as Catholicks, believe that the Pope hath any direct, or indirect, authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of princes. Hence, if the Pope should pretend to absolve or dispencc with his Majesty's subjects from their allegiance, upon account of heresie or schism, such dispensation would be vain and null; and all Catholick subjects, notwithstanding such dispensation, or absolution, would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and countrey, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, even against the Pope himself, in case he should invade the nation.

8. And as for problematical disputes, or errors, of particular divines, in this or any other matter whatsoever, the Catholick church is nowise responsible for them: nor are Catholicks, as Catholicks, justly punishable on their account. But,

9. As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes, excommunicated for heresie, it is an article of faith in the Catholick church, and expressly declared in the general Council of Constance, that such doctrine is damnable and he-

retical, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature.*

10. Personal misdemeanours of what nature soever, ought not to be imputed to the Catholick church, when not justifiable by the tenets of her faith and doctrine; for which reason, though the stories of the Paris massacre; the Irish cruelties; or powder plot, had been true (which yet, for the most part, are notoriously misrelated), nevertheless Catholicks, as Catholicks, ought not to suffer for such offences, any more than the eleven apostles ought to have suffered for Juda's treachery.

11. It is an article of the Catholick faith to believe, that no power on earth can license men to lye, to forswear, and perjure themselves, to massacre their neighbours, or destroy their native countrey, on pretence of promoting the Catholick cause or religion; furthermore, all pardons and dispensations granted or pretended to be granted, in order to any such ends or designs, have no other validity or effect, then to add sacrilege and blasphemy to the above-mentioned crimes.

12. The doctrine of equivocation, or mental reservation, however wrongfully imposed on the

* Conc. Const. Sess. 15.

Catholick religion, is, notwithstanding, neither taught nor approved by the church, as any part of her belief. On the contrary, simplicity and godly sincerity are constantly recommended by her as truly Christian virtues, necessary to the conservation of justice, truth, and common society.

“Of some particular controverted Points of Faith.

—1. Every Catholick is obliged to believe ; that when a sinner repenteth him of his sins from the bottom of his heart, and acknowledgeth his transgressions to God and his ministers, the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ, resolving to turn from his evil wayes, and bring forth fruits worthy of penance, there is (then and no otherwise) an authority left by Christ to absolve such a penitent sinner from his sins ; which authority Christ gave to his apostles, and their successors, the bishops and priests of the Catholick Church, in those words, when he said, Receive ye the Holy-Ghost, whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them, &c.

2. Though no creature whatsoever can make condign satisfaction, either for the guilt of sin, or the pain eternal due to it, this satisfaction being proper to Christ our Saviour only ; yet penitent sinners redeemed by Christ may, as members of Christ, in some measure satisfie by prayer, fasting, alms deeds, and other works of piety, for the temporal pain, which by order of

divine justice sometimes remains due, after the guilt of sin, and pains eternal are (gratis) remitted. These penitential works are notwithstanding satisfactory no otherwise then as joynd and applyed to that satisfaction, which Jesus made upon the cross, in vertue of which alone, all our good works find a grateful acceptance in God's sight.

3. The guilt of sin or pain eternal due to it, is never remitted by indulgences; but only such temporal punishments as remain due after the guilt is remitted; these indulgences being nothing else than a mitigation or relaxation upon just causes, of canonical penances, enjoyned by the pastors of the Church on penitent sinners, according to their several degrees of demerit. And if any abuses or mistakes be sometimes committed, in point either of granting or gaining indulgences, through the remissness or ignorance of particular persons, contrary to the ancient custom and discipline of the Church; such abuses or mistakes cannot rationally be charged on the Church, nor rendered matter of derision, in prejudice to her faith and doctrine.

4. Catholicks hold there is a Purgatory, that is to say, a place or state, where souls departing this life, with remission of their sins, as to the eternal guilt or pain, yet obnoxious to some temporal punishment still remaining due, and not perfectly freed from the blemish of some

venial defects, or deordinations, (as idle words, &c. not liable to damnation) are purged before their admittance into Heaven, where nothing that is defiled can enter. Furthermore,

5. Catholicks also hold, That such souls, so detained in purgatory, being the living members of Christ Jesus, are relieved by the prayers and suffrages of their fellow-members here on earth: but where this place is; Of what nature or quality the pains are; How long each soul is detained there; After what manner the suffrages made in their behalf are applyed; Whether by way of satisfaction or intercession; &c. are questions superfluous, and impertinent as to faith.

6. No man, though just, can merit either an increase of sanctity or happiness in this life, or eternal glory in the next, independent of the merits and passion of Christ; nevertheless in and by the merits of Christ Jesus, the good works of a just man, proceeding from grace and charity, are acceptable to God, so far forth as to be, through his goodness and sacred promise, truly meritorious of eternal life.

7. It is an article of the Catholick faith, That in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly and really contained the body of Christ, which was delivered for us, and his blood, which was shed for the remission of sins; the substance of bread and wine, being by the

powerful words of Christ, changed into the substance of his blessed body and blood, the species or accidents of bread and wine still remaining. Thus,

8. Christ is not present in this sacrament, according to his natural way of existence, that is, with extension of parts, in order to place, &c., but after a supernatural manner, one and the same in many places, and whole in every part of the symbols. This therefore is a real, substantial, yet sacramental presence of Christ's body and blood, not exposed to the external senses, nor obnoxious to corporeal contingences.

9. Neither is the body of Christ in this holy sacrament, separated from his blood, or his blood from his body, or either of both disjoined from his soul and divinity, but all and whole living Jesus is entirely contained under either species; so that whosoever receiveth under one kind, is truly partaker of the whole sacrament, and no wise deprived either of the body or blood of Christ. True it is,

10. Our Saviour Jesus Christ left unto us his body and blood, under two distinct species or kinds; in doing of which, he instituted not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice; a commemorative sacrifice distinctly shewing his death or bloody passion, until he come. For as the sacrifice of the cross was performed by a distinct effusion of blood, so is the same sacrifice com-

memorated in that of the altar, by a distinction of the symbols. Jesus therefore is here given not only to us, but for us; and the Church thereby enriched with a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, usually termed mass.

11. Catholicks renounce all divine worship, and adoration of images or pictures. God alone we worship and adore; nevertheless we make use of pictures, and place them in churches and oratories, to reduce our wandring thoughts, and enliven our memories towards heavenly things. And farther we allow a certain honour and veneration to the picture of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, &c. beyond what is due to every prophane figure; not that we believe any divinity or vertue in the pictures themselves, for which they ought to be honoured, but because the honour given to the pictures is referred to the prototype, or things represented. In like manner,

12. There is a kind of honour and veneration respectively due to the Bible, to the cross, to the name of Jesus, to churches, to the sacraments, &c., as things peculiarly appertaining to God; also to the glorified saints in heaven, as domestick friends of God; yea, to kings, magistrates, and superiors on earth, as the vicegerents of God. To whom honour is due, honour may be given, without any derogation to the majesty of God, or that divine worship appropriate to him. Furthermore,

13. Catholicks believe, That the blessed saints in heaven, replenished with charity, pray for us their fellow-members here on earth; that they rejoyce at our conversion; that seeing God, they see and know in him all things suitable to their happy state; that God is inclinable to hear their requests made in our behalf, and for their sakes granteth us many favours; that therefore it is good and profitable to desire their intercession; and that this manner of invocation is no more injurious to Christ our Mediator, nor superabundant in itself, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers and assistance of another in this world. Notwithstanding all which, Catholicks are taught not so to rely on the prayers of others, as to neglect their own duty to God; in imploring his divine mercy and goodness; in mortifying the deeds of the flesh; in despising the world; in loving and serving God and their neighbour; in following the footsteps of Christ our Lord, who is the way, the truth, and the life: to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen."

It will appear, upon examination, that the doctrines contained in the foregoing extract are strictly conformable to the decisions of the Council of Trent; the Creed of Pius IV.; the Exposition of Bossuet; Gother's Papist Misrepresented; the writings of Bishop Challoner;

the acknowledged Catechisms, and other books of public instruction in the Catholic Church. From these various sources of information, therefore, I will lay before the reader a more detailed account of the leading articles of the Catholic faith. But, first, let us briefly notice a few points in which the Church of Rome agrees with all other Churches that have separated from her communion; and also remark that leading article of all religion which immediately regards the Supreme Object of divine adoration, in which, likewise, Roman Catholics agree with a majority of the Reformed Churches, but differ from some of them.

The points in which the church of Rome is agreed with all other churches, are more in number and importance than many Protestants are apt to suppose, or willing to allow. Indeed, if "each distinction of Christians" would follow the excellent advice of Mr. Butler,* and "*earnestly wish to find an agreement between themselves and their fellow Christians,*" the points of dispute would be considerably lessened; and, even wherein they should still continue to differ, much of that acrimony by which a large majority of religious disputants are at present so shamefully characterized, would be effectually destroyed. It is sufficient to the present purpose to transcribe, from the little work

* Life of Fenelon, p. 236.

just quoted, what the enlightened and truly Catholic author has said on the "essential articles of the Christian religion," in which all Christians, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians, are agreed:—"All Christians," says he, "believe—1st. That there is one God: 2d. That he is a Being of infinite perfection: 3d. That he directs all things by his providence: 4th. That it is our duty to love him with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves: 5th. That it is our duty to repent of the sins we commit: 6th. That God pardons the truly penitent: 7th. That there is a future state of rewards and punishments, when all mankind shall be judged according to their works: 8th. That God sent his Son into the world, to be its Saviour, the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him: 9th. That he is the true Messiah: 10th. That he worked miracles, suffered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four gospels: 11th. That he will hereafter make a second appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity." When it is considered, that, though Roman Catholics, in common with all other Christians, maintain all the above-named "essential articles of religion;" and that they hold no other tenet in direct opposition to any one of them, it is unaccountable that so much mistake should have gone abroad, on the subject of the Catholic faith.

The points of doctrine which Catholics maintain, in common with a majority of the Reformed Churches, but which are denied by some Protestants, are also numerous and important. Besides the Catholic articles just mentioned, they hold the necessity of believing in a *Trinity of Persons in the Deity*, equal in power, wisdom, and glory. The following reasoning on, and illustration of, this ineffable mystery, which the Author of our religion did not see proper to reveal, or explain, to his immediate disciples, is taken from one of the books* acknowledged as authority in the Catholic church: "*Of the Myserie of the blessed Trinity.*" 1st. Was God solitarie and all alone before the creation of the world?—No; he was from all eternity the most sacred company of the blessed Trinity: for as he is the cause of all fruitfulness in creatures, so is he first of all most fruitful within himself, in regard of his fecundity, both in his understanding and in his will; and, therefore, although there were no more things but himself, and he himself was but one thing, yet this one thing was always existent with three personalities. And this is that which we call the mystery of the blessed Trinity and Unity of God.

2d. How can this be?—It is a thing which

* "A Declaration of the Principall Pointes of Christian Doctrine, gathered out of diverse Catechismes, and set forth by the English Priests dwelling in Tournay Colledge." p. 15, et. seq. Printed at Paris, A. D. 1647.

we cannot comprehend : for as God himself is incomprehensible to us, so is all that which is in God, and particularly this mystery of the most blessed Trinity.

3d. Is there no example to help us to conceive this mystery ?—Yes ; it may, in some sort, be exemplified in a fountain, which produceth a river, and the river and it together, a lake : for the lake, the river, and the fountain, are distinguished from one another, and yet, the water, by which they are all constituted, is one and the same, in every one of them.

4th. What, then, meaneth the mystery of the Unity and Trinity of God ?—It meaneth, that in God there is only one divinity, or, as we say, essence and divine nature ; which, nevertheless, is in three divine persons, who are called Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and so there is but one God, and every person is truly that one God.

5th. Wherefore are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three distinct persons ?—Because they have three distinct notions ; for though the being of the Godhead be most single and indivisible, and, consequently, the self-same in all three ; yet the manner of this being is not the same, but each one hath his special manner of being, which cannot be common to the rest. For the Father is the fountain from whence the other two persons do proceed, and he hath no

source himself to proceed from, and, therefore, he produceth, but is not produced. The Son proceedeth from the Father, and only from him. The Holy Ghost proceedeth both from the Father and the Son. And hence it ariseth, that the three persons are distinguished (though not divided) one from another: and, therefore, though we cannot say, that the Godhead of the Son proceedeth from the Godhead of the Father, or the Godhead of the Holy Ghost from the Godhead of the Father and the Son; yet we are bound to believe, that the person of the Son proceedeth from the person of the Father, and the person of the Holy Ghost, from the persons of the Father and the Son.

6th. How doth the Son proceed from the Father?—He is not made, nor created, but begotten of his Father's own substance, by his understanding. For the Father knowing himself by an infinite knowledge, produceth by his understanding, a most perfect word, or expression of himself; which is his Son co-eternal, and equal in all things to himself, and must needs possess the same nature with him, because he is produced of his own substance.

7th. Why is he called his Son?—Because his production is a true generation. For as the end of generation in creatures is to make a thing like in nature to that from which it proceeds, so doth the word of the divine understanding produced

through the force of the Father's intellectual nature, by the manner of its production naturally express the thing which is understood, which is God the Father himself.

8th. Hath God the Father but one Son, begotten of his own substance?—No; neither can he have any more than one: for it is otherwise in God than in men; because no man can give all that he himself is to any son, and therefore he may have many children; but God Almighty doth give his own substance so perfectly to his son by generation, as that he giveth him all that is in himself, and can be communicated; inso-much that there remaineth nothing to be given by way of generation to any other.

9th. How doth the Holy Ghost proceed from the Father and the Son?—He doth proceed from them both, as from one only source, and not as made or created, nor as begotten, but produced through the will by an ineffable way, which divines term spiration.

10th. What is spiration?—It is a breathing or impulse of the will, by which it expresseth its affection: for the Father loving his Son infinitely, as being his only begotten, and the Son his Father, as the fountain from whom he proceedeth, they produce a mutual bond of love, whereby the Father and Son are ineffably linked together: and this is the Holy Ghost, the third

person of the blessed Trinity, eternal God, and equal to both the other two persons.

11th. Why are these three persons one only God?—Because they have one self-same essence, one self-same power, one self-same wisdom, one self-same goodness, one self-same understanding, and one self-same will.

12th. Did then all these three divine persons create the world?—Yes, for all three having from all eternity the same power, the same will, and the same understanding, whatsoever is done out of God by one, is done by all.”*

The Church is defined by the Council of Trent to be the one, visible, holy, and Catholic, that is, universal Church, established by God on a solid

* It is hardly necessary to remark, that this doctrine of the Trinity is admitted into the creeds of a very large majority of the Reformed Churches. It is, however, denied by many of the Churches of Transylvania, and other places, remnants of the Polish Socinians. At home, the Trinity is rejected by the following sects: Arians, Modern Socinians, Humanitarians, or Unitarians, Sabellians, Swedenborgians,† and by a very large portion of Quakers. There are now many clergymen of the Church of England who are reputed Anti-Trinitarians; and the opponents of this tenet seem of late years to have very rapidly increased in this country; though the penal laws are very severe against *hereticks* of this description.

† This modern sect believe that Jesus Christ is the only true God: they are a sort of Modalists.

basis, who has bestowed on it the power of opening the gates of heaven to all true believers, and shutting them to all heretics and infidels: it likewise has the power of pardoning and absolving sins, and excommunicating all such as are disobedient*.—This Church is both triumphant and militant: the former is the illustrious society of those blessed spirits and saints, who having triumphed over the world, the flesh and the devil, enjoy everlasting happiness in peace and security: the latter is the congregation of all true believers upon earth, who are constantly obliged, during their whole lives, to resist the world, the flesh and the devil.—Jesus Christ is the immediate governor of that part of the Church which is triumphant in the heavens; but as the Church militant required a visible head or director, he has substituted one in his room, who is accounted, by all true Catholics, as the sole and sovereign depository of the faith, and perpetual director of the belief of all true Christians,† who is commissioned to promote some of them to the highest preferments in heaven,‡ and to confer on others such briefs as will one day entitle them thereunto: § it must not here be objected, that he breaks in upon the prerogative

* Catechism of the Council of Trent.

† Monsieur Picart's Religious Ceremonies and Customs of all Nations, vol. i. p. 284.

‡ The Canonization of Saints.

§ Beatification.

of Jesus Christ, since on the contrary no true believer can enter into heaven, but through the recommendation of this his visible vicegerent.

Besides the ecclesiastical laws and canons, which are the bulwark of the constitution of the Roman Church, there are other institutions of that Church more especially calculated for preserving an uniformity of faith among Christians. These formularies or creeds are chiefly three, viz. that called the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, which it is not necessary here to repeat.

SECTION II.

Summary of the Catholic Doctrines, Opinions, &c. as contained in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., the Council of Trent, and other Authorities.

What follows is a summary of the doctrines, discipline, and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, as contained in Pope Pius's creed,* and as those doctrines, &c. are expounded and enforced by various authorities.

* I omit the twelve first Articles : they are composed from the Nicene Creed, and are admitted by most Protestants.

“ Art. XIII. I most firmly admit and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and and all other observations and constitutions of the same Church.”*

They affirm that divine truth, which we are all bound to receive, to be partly written, and partly delivered by word of mouth ; which is more fully expressed in the preface to the Roman catechism, drawn up by order of the Church of Rome, where we find these words towards the conclusion of it :—“ The whole doctrine to be delivered to the faithful is contained in the word of God, which word of God is distributed into scripture and tradition.”†

“ Art. XIV. I do admit the holy scriptures in the same sense that Holy Mother Church doth, whose business it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them, and I will interpret them according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.”‡

The Council of Trent decreed that the scripture alone is not a rule of faith without tradition,

* Pope Pius's Creed, Art. xiii.

† Romish Catechism.

‡ Pope Pius's Creed, Art. xiv.

and traditions are to be received with the like regard and veneration as the scriptures.*

The author of the Profession of Catholic faith, on the article of scripture and tradition, asks,

“ Q. What do you believe concerning the scriptures?—A. That they are to be received by all Christians as the infallible word of God.

“ Q. Do you look upon the scriptures to be clear and plain in all points necessary to salvation?—A. No.

“ Q. How then is the danger to be avoided?—A. By taking the meaning and interpretation of the scripture from the Church, and by apostolical and ecclesiastical tradition.

“ Q. What do you mean by apostolical tradition?—A. All such points of faith or Church discipline which were taught or established by the apostles.

“ Q. What difference is there between apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions?—A. Apostolical traditions are those which had their origin or institution from the apostles, such as infant-baptism, the Lord's day, (or first day of the

* Con. Trident. sess. iv.

week) receiving the sacrament, fasting, &c. Ecclesiastical traditions are such as received their institution from the Church, such as holidays, feasts, and fasts.

“Q. How are we to know what traditions are apostolical, and what not?—A. In the same manner, and by the same authority, by which we know what scriptures are apostolical, and what not; that is, by the authority of the apostolical Church, guided by the unerring spirit of God.

“Q. But why should not the scripture alone be the rule of our faith, without having recourse to apostolical traditions?—A. First, Because without the help of apostolical traditions we cannot so much as tell what is scripture, and what not. Second, Because infant-baptism, and several other necessary articles, are either not at all contained in scripture, or at least are not plain in the scripture without the help of tradition. For Christ has left his Church, and her pastors and teachers, to be our guides in all controversies relating to religion, and consequently of holy writ.”*

“Art. XV. I do profess and believe that there

* Profession of Catholic Faith, p. 19.

are seven sacraments, truly and properly so called, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one, viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony ; and that they do confer grace ; and that of these, confirmation, and orders, cannot be repeated without sacrilege.—I also receive and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, in her solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.”

A sacrament is an institution of Christ, consisting in some outward sign or ceremony, by which grace is given to the soul of the worthy receiver.*

Baptism is a sacrament instituted by Christ, according to his commission, and from the belief and practice of the Church of Christ in all ages, and of the apostles themselves, who administered baptism in water.†

Confirmation is a sacrament wherein by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the imposition of the bishop's hands, with the unction of holy chrism, a person receives the grace of the

* Profession of the Catholic Faith, p. 15, 16, and 17.

† See the Xth Article of this Creed. Also, Profession of Catholic Faith, p. 20.

Holy Ghost, and a strength, in order to the professing of his faith.*

Confirmation is that which makes us perfect Christians, and impresses an indelible character after baptism, and imparts to us the spirit of fortitude, whereby we are enabled to profess Christianity even at the hazard of our lives; and is therefore deemed a sacrament by the Church.†

Penance or infliction, the act of using or submitting to punishment, public or private, as an expression of repentance for sin, is deemed one of the seven sacraments.

When the question is asked in the "Grounds," &c. What do you mean by the sacrament of penance?—The answer is, Confession of sins with a sincere repentance, and the priest's absolution.†

Penance is elsewhere defined to be, "A sacrament, consisting in some outward sign or ceremony, by which grace is given to the soul of the worthy receiver, instituted by Christ when, breathing upon the disciples, he gave them the Holy Ghost to remit and retain sins; that is, to reconcile the faithful fallen into sin after bap-

* Calmet's Dict. Article of Confirmation.

† Grounds of the Catholic Faith, p. 21.

tism : it differeth from baptism not only in matter and form, but also, because the minister of baptism is not a judge in that ordinance ; whereas after baptism the sinner presents himself before the tribunal of the priest as guilty, to be set at liberty by his sentence : it is, however, as necessary as baptism : the form consists in the words, “ I do absolve thee.” Contrition, confession, and satisfaction, are parts of penance, and the effect is reconciliation with God.

Extreme unction is a sacrament, and to be administered when persons are in imminent danger, and last of all to be applied.*

“ Q. What do you mean by extreme unction ?

—A. You have the full description of it in James v. 14, 15. “ Is any ^{*}sick among you, let him call for the elders (the priests) of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord ; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.”†

Orders. “ If any one shall say, that orders or holy ordination is not truly and properly a sacrament, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, or

* Conc. Trident. session xiv. c. xiii.

† Grounds of the Catholic Faith, p. 23.

that it is a human contrivance invented by men, who were ignorant of ecclesiastical affairs, or that it is only a particular rite of chusing ministers of the word of God, and of sacraments, let him be anathema;*—or that the Holy Ghost is not given by holy ordination, let him be anathema.”†

“Orders,” says the author of the Profession of the Catholic faith, “is a sacrament instituted by Christ, by which bishops, priests, &c. are consecrated to their respective functions, and receive grace to discharge them well.”

Matrimony. “If any man says that this is not truly and properly one of the seven sacraments, instituted by Jesus Christ, but that it is an institution only of the Church, and does not confer grace, let him be anathema.‡” “And if any man says, a churchman in holy orders may marry or contract marriage, and that when it is contracted it is good and valid, notwithstanding any ecclesiastical law to the contrary, or that any who have vowed continence may contract marriage, let him be anathema.§”

* Dupin's Hist. of the Council of Trent, Session xxiii.
Canon iii. † Ibid. Canon iv.

‡ Session xxiv. Canon i. § Canon ix.

" Art. XVI. I embrace and receive every thing that hath been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification."*

" Good works do truly deserve eternal life, and whosoever holds the contrary is accursed†."

The Council of Trent declares, that all of the human kind have lost their holiness and righteousness by the sin of Adam,‡ making an exception for the Virgin Mary.

" Eternal life ought to be proposed to the children of God, both as a grace mercifully promised, and as a reward faithfully bestowed on them for their good works and merits."§

" The good works of a justified person are not so the gifts of God, that they are not also the merits of the justified person; and that he, being justified by the good works performed by him, through the grace of God and merits of Jesus Christ, whose living member he is, does truly merit increase of grace and eternal life.¶"

Bossuet, on the doctrine of merit, observes,

* Pope Pius's Creed, Article XVI.

† Trid. Session vi. c. xvi. Canon xxxii.

‡ Session v. section 2.

§ Bossuet's Exposition of the Catholic Catechism.

¶ Con. Trid. Session vi. Canon xxxii.

that the church professes her hope of salvation to be founded in Christ alone. "We openly declare," says he, "that we cannot be acceptable to God but in and through Jesus Christ; nor do we apprehend how any other sense can be imputed to our belief, of which our daily petition to God for pardon, through his grace, in the name of Jesus Christ, may serve as a proof."*

"Art. XVII. I do also profess, that in the mass there is offered unto God, a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and that, in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; which conversion, the whole Catholic church call Transubstantiation."

"This sacrifice was only ordained as a representation of that which was once accomplished on the cross, to perpetuate the memory of it for ever, and to apply unto us the salutary virtue of it for the absolution of those sins which we daily commit.†"

* Picart Ceremon. vol. i. p. 260, where the quotations are larger.

† Modest and True Account of the chief Points in Controversy, p. 108.

The "Catholic Christian" urges, in support of this doctrine, that our church catechism, in answer to the question, What is the inward part or thing signified? says, the body and blood of Christ, which is verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper.* And the council of Trent, decrees "that, if any one says, that a true and proper sacrifice is not offered up to God at the mass, or that to be offered is any thing else than Jesus Christ given to be eaten, let him be anathema."

"Canon III. If any one says, that the sacrifice of the mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare memorial of the sacrifice, which was completed upon the cross, and that it is not propitiatory nor profitable to any but him that receives it, and that it ought not to be offered for the living and for the dead, for their sins, their punishments, their satisfactions, and their other necessities, let him be anathema."

"Canon IX. If any one says, that the usage of the church of Rome, to pronounce part of the canon, and the words of consecration, with a low voice, ought to be condemned; or that

* Preface to the Catholic Christian.

† Sess. 22. Can. 1.

the mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and that water ought not to be mixed with the wine, which is to be offered in the cup; because it is against the institution of Jesus Christ, let him be anathema."

These definitions of faith were followed with a decree to enforce them.*

When it is asked, in the Catechism, What is the Catholic doctrine as to the mass? It is answered, The consecration and oblation of the body and blood of Christ, under the sacramental veils or appearances of bread and wine, wherein is offered a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.†

The church of Rome declares, that, upon the priest's pronouncing these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the bread and wine in the eucharist are transubstantiated into the natural body and blood of Christ, the species or accidents only of the bread and wine remaining, and has made it an article to be believed under an anathema.‡ That in the sacrifice of the mass, Christ is

* Dupin's Eccles. Hist. of the Sixteenth Century, b. iv. ch. xviii.

† Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine, p. 31.

‡ Concil. Trident. Sess. 13, de Real. Pres.

offered as often as that is celebrated; and that, though therein he be unbloodily offered, yet it is a true propitiatory sacrifice for the sins both of the living and dead, and denounces the person accursed that denies any part of this.*

Solitary masses, wherein the priest communicates alone, are approved and commended, and whosoever saith they are unlawful, and ought to be abrogated, is accursed.†

“ Art. XVIII. And I believe, that under one kind only, whole and entire, Christ is taken and received.”

Bread and wine, after consecration, are turned into the substance of Christ's body and blood, without changing the species.—And the people are forbidden to receive the sacrament in both kinds.‡

The council of Constance decreed, that Christ did institute this sacrament in both kinds, and that the faithful in the primitive church did receive in both kinds: yet, that the practice of receiving in one kind was highly reasonable, they appointed the continuance of consecration

* Conc. Trident. Sess. 22. cap. 1.

† Ibid. can. viii.

‡ Conc. Trident. Sess. 13.

in both kinds, and of giving to the laity only in one kind, since Christ was entire, and truly under one kind.* And they assigned these further reasons, lest the blood of Christ should be spilt—lest the wine kept for the sick should fret—lest wine may not always be had—or lest some may not be able to bear the smell or taste.

Let their own words testify for them:† “In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. This present sacred, general council, declares, decrees, and determines, that, although Christ instituted and administered to his disciples this venerable sacrament after supper, under both kinds of bread and wine, yet this, notwithstanding the laudable authority of sacred canons, and the approved custom of the church, hath maintained, and doth maintain, that such a sacrament as this ought not to be made after supper, nor to be received by the faithful otherwise than fasting, excepting in case of infirmity, or other necessity granted or admitted by law, or by the church: and since, for avoiding some dangers and scandals, the custom has been rationally introduced, that though this sacrament was in the primitive church received by the faithful

* Conc. Constan. Sess. 13, held A. D. 1414. .

† Conc. Constan. apud M. l'Abbe, tom. xii. p. 100.

under both kinds, and afterwards by the makers of it under both kinds, and by the laity only under the species of bread; such a custom as this ought to be accounted a law, which must not be rejected, or at pleasure changed, without the authority of the church. They who assert the contrary are to be driven away as heretics, and severely punished by the diocesans of the places, or their officials, or by the inquisitors of heretical pravity."

The council of Florence has the following paragraph, in relation both to this and the eucharist: "The priest, speaking in the name of Christ, maketh this sacrament; for, by virtue of the very words themselves, the bread is changed into the body of Christ, and the substance of the wine into his blood: yet so that whole Christ is contained under the species of bread, and whole under the species of wine; also in every part of the consecrated host and consecrated wine, when a separation is made, there is whole Christ."*

"Art. XIX. I do firmly believe, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls kept prisoners there do receive help by the suffrage of the faithful."† That the souls of the patriarchs and holy men, who departed this life before the crucifixion of

* L'Abbe Council. tom. xiii. p. 537.

† Pope Pius's Creed.

Christ, were kept as in prison, in an apartment of hell, without pain.—That Christ did really go into local hell, and delivered the captive souls out of this confinement.*—Some of the fathers assert, that our Saviour descended into hell, went thither specially, and delivered the souls of the fathers out of that mansion."†

Bellarmino says, "there is a purgatory after this life, where the souls of those that are not purged, nor have satisfied for their sins here, are to be purged, and give satisfaction, unless their time be shortened by the prayers, alms, and masses of the living."‡

The council of Trent says, that souls who die in a state of grace, but are not sufficiently purged from their sins, go first into purgatory, a place of torment, bordering near upon hell, from which their deliverance may be expedited by the suffrages, that is, prayers, alms, and masses, said and done by the faithful.§

"Souls are to continue in purgatory till they have made full satisfaction for their sins, and are thoroughly purged from them; and

* Bellarmine de Christo, lib. iv. cap. 11, 12.

† Rhem. Annot. on Luke xvi. 27.

‡ Bellarmine de Purgat. lib. ii. c. vi.

§ Conc. Trident. sess. xxv.

whoever says that there is no debt of temporal punishment to be paid, either in this world or in purgatory, before they can be received into heaven, is accursed."*

In fine, "the Catholic church, being instructed by the Holy Ghost, having always taught, pursuant to the holy scriptures, and the ancient tradition of the fathers, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there detained are comforted by the suffrages of the faithful, especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar, the holy council commandeth bishops to take particular care that the faith and belief of the faithful, concerning purgatory, conformable to the holy doctrine handed down to us by holy fathers and holy councils, be believed, and every where so taught and preached."†

"Art. XX. I do believe that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be invoked, and that they do offer prayers unto God for us, and that their relics are to be had in veneration."‡

In answer to this question, § "What is the Ca-

* Concil. Trident. sess. vi. can. xxx.

† The decree of the council, at the opening of the 25th sess.

‡ Pope Pius's Creed, article xx.

§ Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine, p. 37—38.

tholic doctrine, touching the veneration and invocation of saints?" The answer is, we are taught, 1st, "That there is an honour and veneration due to the angels and saints;—2d, That they offer prayers to God for us;—3d, That it is good and profitable to invoke them, that is, to have recourse to their intercession and prayers;—4th, That their relics are to be had in veneration."

When the reason of it is asked, the answer is, "Because the church, in all ages, has paid this honour and veneration to the saints, by erecting churches and keeping holidays in their memory: a practice which the English Protestants have also retained."

The church, says Bossuet, in his Exposition on the Creed, in telling us, that it is beneficial to pray to the saints, teaches us to pray to them in that spirit of charity, and according to that order of brotherly love, which inclines us to request the assistance of our brethren living upon earth; and the catechism of the council of Trent teaches us to beg of them to be our advocates, only using this phrase, *Pray for us*. And in vindication of this their sentiment and practice, they allege, that the church of England still retains this collect upon the day of St. Michael and All Angels: "O everlasting God, who has ordained and constituted the service of angels in

a wonderful order, mercifully grant, that as thy holy angels always do thee service in heaven, so by thy appointment they may succour and defend us on earth.”*

“ Art. XXI. I do firmly believe, that the images of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, the mother of God, and of other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration ought to be paid unto them. †”

All the devotion paid to their saints extends no farther than to desire their prayers, and that the pictures and images of them, which we see in their churches, are no more than mere memorials, designed to express the esteem which they retain for the persons so represented, or as helps to raise their affections to heavenly things; every child amongst them knows this to be true. ‡

“ Art. XXII. I do affirm, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is very beneficial to Christian people. §”

* Plain and Rational Account of the Catholic Faith, p. 48.
Book of Common Prayer.

† Pope Pius's Creed, art. xxi.

‡ Prof. of Cath. Faith, p. 39.

§ Pope Pius's Creed, art. xxii.

Indulgences.—The council of Trent proposes nothing more relative to indulgences, according to Mons. Bossuet, but that the church had the power of granting them from Jesus Christ, and that the practice of them is wholesome; which custom, that council adds, ought still to be preserved, though with moderation, lest ecclesiastical discipline should be weakened by too great a toleration.

By indulgences granted by the popes and prelates of the church, persons are discharged from temporal punishment, here and in purgatory.*

“ Plenary indulgences, or Full Release, from the weightier satisfactions of Penance, are offered by the Church to the faithful in this kingdom, at the following seasons of the year:—I. From Christmas to the Epiphany, or Twelfth-day, inclusively. II. From the first to the second Sunday in Lent. III. At Easter, viz. From Palm to Lord Sunday, inclusively. IV. From Whitsunday till the octave of Corpus Christi, inclusively. V. On and during the octave of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul. VI. From the Sunday preceding the Festival of the Assumption of the B. V. M. to its octave, the 22d of

* Conc. Trident. sess. xiv. Bull, p. ii. 4.

August. VII. From the Sunday preceding the Festival of St. Michael to the Sunday following.
VIII. From the Sunday preceding the Festival of All Saints to the 8th day of November.
 When the Festivals of the Assumption, St. Michael, or All Saints, fall on a Sunday, the indulgence does not commence before the festival.

Conditions of the I. III. VI. and VII. are 1. To confess their sins with a sincere repentance to a priest approved by the Bishop. 2. Devoutly and worthily to receive the holy communion. 3. To visit some chapel or oratory, where the eucharistic mysteries are celebrated, and there offer up their prayers for the peace and welfare of the Church of God. 4. That they may be in a disposition of mind to assist the poor with alms in proportion to their abilities; or to frequent catechisms or sermons; or to visit and comfort the sick, or such as are near their end, if they have the opportunity.

Conditions of II. IV. and VIII. are, 1. To confess their sins with a sincere repentance to a priest approved by a bishop. 2. Devoutly and worthily to receive the holy communion. 3. If able, to give some alms to the poor, either on the eve, or on the day of their communion. 4. On the day of their communion, to offer up some prayers to God for the peace and welfare of the Catholic Church throughout the world. For the bringing all souls to the fold of Christ.

For the general peace of Christendom, and for the blessing of God upon this nation.

Conditions to the V.—To the indulgences formerly granted, His Holiness Pope Clement XIV. was pleased to add a new one in favour of all the faithful living in the English mission, who being truly penitent, and having confessed their sins, shall worthily receive the holy communion on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, June 29, or on any day within the octave, and shall for some space of time pray to God with a sincere heart; for the conversion of infidels and heretics, and for the propagation of the Holy Faith.”*

This is the real state of the case, with respect to Indulgences. If some Catholics in former times have (as it must be confessed has been the case) abused this branch of church discipline, no blame ought to attach to their successors of the present times. It is in the greatest degree illiberal and unjust, to charge any body of Christians with all the abuses to which wicked men will ever profane even the best of doctrines. I am no advocate for Indulgences, according to any form yet prescribed by the Church of Rome; but I

* See the Preface to the “*Liturgy, or a Book of Common Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments, &c.*” By the Rev. Peter Gandolphy. 1812.

must confess it will afford me the most sincere satisfaction, if any thing I can say to elucidate this point, shall remove prejudice and mistake from the minds of any of my Protestant brethren; and, with this view, I will extract the reasoning and statement which a learned and pious "Minister of the Church of England"* has published relative to the practice of granting Indulgences:

It is asked "Whether Indulgences are not abominable, which either give leave to sin, or grant the pardon of past sins, and these obtained for a sum of money?"

* See "An Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion, wherein above sixty of the principal controverted Points, which have hitherto divided Christendom, being call'd over, 'tis examined how many of them may, and ought to be, laid aside, and how few remains to be accommodated, for the effecting a general Peace. By a Minister of the Church of England." This most excellently well-meant Essay was first printed in 1704; and was re-printed, by Faulder, in 1801. My own religious sentiments on some points of primary importance, being so very remote from those held by the author of this valuable work, it cannot be supposed that I should concur in all the writer's reasoning and conclusions; but, I must confess, it appears to me, that were the regular and moderate clergy of the establishment to peruse this book with candour, and earnestly strive to adopt its maxims and spirit, a union of the two Churches of Rome and of England would soon be the consequence. Were I a clergyman of the national church, I would much rather be the author of such a work as this little Essay, than even have the praise of a Tillotson, a Burnet, or a Hooker.

X
 " This was the opinion I formerly had of Indulgences; but since I began to follow other measures, besides taking upon trust, upon diligent examination I have found, that Indulgences in the Church of Rome are neither pardons for sin nor leave to commit sin, but the same which has been practised in the purest ages of the Church; and that is, a remission of some part of those canonical penances, which were wont to be inflicted for some greater crimes. This power of binding and loosing we own in the Church, and retain it in our canons; and 'tis yet in force in respect of some crimes. And Dr. Cave shews it to have been practis'd in the Primitive Church.* The Church of Rome proposes no more in her definitions of faith, than that *the power of granting Indulgences is given to the Church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them beneficial to the faithful.*

This is all that is proposed as a term of communion by that Church, which being according to the doctrine of our own, I don't see any reason to divide upon this account. Especially since the Council of Trent,† in its decree of Indulgences, refers to antiquity, and to what has been established by antient Synods: In which nothing more was taught besides the dispensing, upon due motives, with the rigour of discipline;

* Prim. Christ. p. 3. c. 5. p. 369. 374.

† Sess. 25. c. 21. de Reform.

for by this it appears, there's no other meaning of Indulgences imposed upon any, besides that which was primitive, and we still retain.

These Indulgences having been formerly called pardons, I presume, has been the occasion of their having been reputed pardons for sins : and whereas giving of alms has been generally one condition required for gaining such Indulgences; hence has it been thought, that the pardon of sin was offered for money. But, upon enquiry, I find these to be mistakes. For all books of doctrine in the Church of Rome unanimously teach, that there's no pardon of sin, without true repentance, and an humble confession of sin; and if these do not precede, no Indulgence can avail them, in order to the pardon of their sin. In this I am certain we join, and they require no more for our joining with them; and therefore as to this point, I see great hopes of an amicable accord."

It is then asked " Whether the granting Indulgences for many thousand years, and such as are found in many books, of many years' pardon, with the release of a soul out of purgatory, granted for saying one short prayer, or wearing some medal, be not scandal enough to discourage all men of sense from joining with the Church of Rome ?

The canonical penances of the Primitive Church, I observe, were for many years; whence

it cannot be wondered, if the tenor of Indulgences, which are the release of such penalties, be for many years. But as to the thousand years' pardons, with the rest now mentioned, there are none of these offered by any General Council, nor have place in any profession of faith; and, therefore, being not imposed on any, though never so corrupt, yet, according to our second rule,* they are not to obstruct Communion, since joining in communion with that Church, does not oblige to consent to or approve any such practices. It being as common in that Church to disapprove the concession of Indulgences for frivolous causes, and some slight work, as by others that are out of it."

Another question asked is, "Whether the doctrine of Indulgences was not that which obliged Luther to depart from the Church, and undertake a Reformation? How then can the Reformation join with it?"

* This rule is expressed as follows: "That errors in a Church, as to matters of doctrines, or corruptions, as to matters of practice, so long as these errors and corruptions are only suffered, but not imposed, cannot be sufficient cause of separation: The reason is, because these things are not sins in us, so long as we do not join with the Church in them." I fear there is a little fallacy in this conclusion. It savours too much of the spirit of Naaman, who prayed that when he should in future bow down in the house of Rimmon, the Lord would pardon him, though he had previously resolved to "offer neither burn offering nor sacrifice unto other gods but the Lord." See 2 Kings, v. 18.

By the best account of history, I find there had been great abuses in this point of Indulgences; such as were not less injurious than provoking; so that I do not wonder at Luther in making a party against them, but think he had deserved the applause of the Christian world, had he done it in a canonical way. But I find, too, he was not the only person that expressed a zeal against such corrupt practices. Pope Innocent III. had long before complained of them in the great Lateran Council, an. 1215, laying the intolerable abuses on the Questors, or collectors in those days. Clement V., in the Council at Vienna, an. 1311, censures the evil practices of those times much more, and makes a severe order against the wicked ministers and under-officers of the inferior clergy, to whom the publishing of Indulgences, and collection of the people's alms, for some publick and pious uses, was committed. He exposes their crime in undertaking, with much rashness and the delusion of souls, to grant Indulgences, to release penances, and deceitfully to promise to those that gave them alms, the release of three or four of their parents' or friends' souls out of purgatory; representing them as great liars and cheats: and then taking care to put an effectual stop to all such abuses. But this is best seen in the words of the Constitution.

Having given this character of these *Questores*:
 “ Illos in suis prædicationibus simplices decipere,

“ & aurum extorquere, in animarum periculum,
 “ & plurimorum scandalum.” He then goes on
 thus: “ Cum aliqui ex hujusmodi quæstoribus,
 “ sicut ad nostram audientiam est perlatum,
 “ non sine multa temeritatis audacia, deceptione
 “ multiplici animarum, indulgentias populo,
 “ motu suo proprio, de facto concedant; super
 “ votis dispensent; in perjuriis, homicidiis, &
 “ peccatis aliis sibi confitentes absolvant; male
 “ ablata incerta (data sibi aliqua pecuniæ quan-
 “ titate) remittant; tertiam aut quartam partem
 “ de pœnitentiis injunctis relaxent; animas tres
 “ vel plures parentum vel amicorum illorum qui
 “ eleemosynas eis conferunt, de Purgatorio (ut
 “ asserunt mendaciter) extrahant, et ad gaudia
 “ Paradisi perducant; benefactoribus locorum,
 “ quorum questores existunt, remissionem ple-
 “ nariam peccatorum indulgeant; & aliqui ex
 “ ipsis, eos a pœna & a culpa (ut eorum verbis
 “ utamur) absolvant. Nos abusus hujusmodi
 “ omnimode aboleri volentes, inhibemus.”*

Here is confessed the origin of those extrava-
 gant Indulgences above mentioned, and care
 taken for removing the grand abuses, by which
 those trading Questors had imposed upon the
 people, and most scandalously enriched them-
 selves. This care might probably have some
 effect; but where covetousness had so great a

* Constit. Clem. l. 5. tit. 9. c. 2.

prey, the cure was not lasting: the like abuses returned again, and were those with which the Church was deformed in Luther's days. Now, had the Church of Rome undertaken to justify and defend such abuses, his arming the State against the Church might have had some colour. But although there did not appear that zeal for so timely a reforming them, as the scandals seemed to require, yet as Clement had done before, so did the pastors of the Church afterwards, lament those corruptions, and take more effectual care for their being removed, and their return prevented.

For the Council of Trent, complaining of the fruitless endeavours of preceding Councils, quite abrogated this office of Questors, and, in abhorrence of their scandals, wholly abolished their name, with all the privileges belonging to them; and committed the publishing of such indulgences, and collecting charities, to the ordinary, with two of the chapter joyned with him, to be done, *nulla prorsus mercede accepta*.*

And then for reforming all abuses, see what decree it has made :†

The holy synod desires that moderation be

* Sess. 21. c. 9.

† Sess. 25. c. 21. Decr. de Indul.

used in granting Indulgences, according to the antient and approved custom in the Church, lest, by too much facility, ecclesiastical discipline be weakened. And being solicitous, that abuses which have crept in be reformed and corrected, which have given occasion to hereticks of blaspheming the venerable name of Indulgences; it ordains in general by this present decree, That all wicked lucre for obtaining them, which has been the cause of many great abuses among the faithful, be wholly abolished. And as for all other abuses, which are occasioned by superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or from what other cause soever, since they cannot be here in particular forbid, by reason of the manifold corruptions of places and provinces in which they are committed; therefore the Synod strictly enjoyns all Bishops to take a particular list of such abuses in their respective dioceses, and give a memorial of them to the first provincial Synod; that being acknowledged by the sentence of other Bishops, they may be forthwith laid before the Bishop of Rome; by whose authority and prudence may be ordained what may be expedient for the whole Church.

Thus stands this point of Indulgences, which has been attended with great abuses: But since the Church of Rome maintains not such abuses, but joins with Luther, and the rest of the Reformation, in using means for their being removed,

we ought not to make such abuses an exception against Communion."

" Art. XXIII. I do acknowledge the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman church, to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ."*

" What is the Catholic doctrine as to the Pope's supremacy?†—I. That St. Peter was head of the church under Christ. II. That the Pope, or bishop of Rome, is at present head of the church, and Christ's vicar upon earth.

" Q. How do we prove these propositions?—
A. By the unanimous consent of the fathers, and the tradition of the church, the bishops of Rome are the successors of St. Peter, who translated his chair from Antioch to Rome, and died bishop of Rome. Hence the see of Rome, in all ages, is called the see of Peter, the chair of Peter, and absolutely the see apostolic; and in that quality has, from the beginning, exercised jurisdiction over all other churches, as appears from the best records of ancient church history."

* Pope Pius's Creed, art. xxiii.

† See before, pp. 38—46.

“Q. Why do you call the Romish church the mother and mistress of all churches?—Because her bishop is St. Peter’s successor, and Christ’s vicar upon earth, and, consequently, the father and pastor of all the faithful; and, therefore, this church, as being St. Peter’s see, is the mother and mistress of all churches.”*

“Art. XXIV. I do, undoubtedly, receive and profess all other things that have been delivered, defined, by the sacred canons and oecumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of Trent, and all other things contrary hereunto; and all heresies condemned, rejected, and anathematized, by the church, I do likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize.”†

The Creed then concludes as follows: **“I, N.N., do at this present freely profess, and sincerely hold this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved‡; and I promise most consistently to retain and confess the same entire and inviolated, with God’s assistance, to the end of my life.”**

* The Grounds of the Catholic Faith, p. 51—52.

† Pope Pius’s Creed, Art. xxiv.

‡ Here is a spice of the old leaven: another sample of the *damnatory clauses*.—How much better are many Christians than their Creeds! How kind and liberal are multitudes, in spite of their faith! and what a mercy it is, that those who invented these damnatory sentences reserved their execution till that period when we shall be in other hands than theirs!

This summary of the Catholic faith has been collected from such authentic sources as have come before me, and I acknowledge assistance to have been derived here, and in other instances, from the *History of Religion*,* published anonymously, by a Protestant writer of considerable merit.

SECTION III.

A Commination against numerous errors and blasphemies.—Address of the Roman Catholics to Protestants.

I WILL next lay before the reader the substance of a little tract,† containing a solemn declaration and commination against certain tenets and opinions with which some of our brethren have so improperly charged the Roman Catholics:

“ 1. Cursed is he that commits idolatry, that prays to images or relicks, or worships them for

* Vol. i. p. 138, et seq.

† *A Vindication of the Roman Catholics*, printed at London, early in the reign of king James, and re-printed in the year 1743, when an invasion was designed against England, by the Pretender.

gods. 2. Cursed is every goddess worshipper, that believes the Virgin Mary to be any more than a creature ; that honours her, worships her, or puts his trust in her as much as in God ; that believes her above her Son, or that she can in any thing command him. 3. Cursed is he that believes the angels or saints in heaven to be his redeemers, that prays to them as such, or that gives God's honour to them, or to any creature whatever. 4. Cursed is he that worships any breaden god, or makes gods of the empty elements of bread and wine. 5. Cursed is he that believes that priests can forgive sins, whether the sinner repents or no ; or that there is any power in earth or heaven that can forgive sins without a hearty repentance and serious purpose of amendment. 6. Cursed is he that believes that priests can give present absolution to any persons for sins they may commit in time to come. 7. Cursed is he that believes there is authority in the Pope, or any other that can give leave to commit sins, or that can forgive him his sins for a sum of money. 8. Cursed is he that believes, that, independent of the merits and passion of Christ, he can merit salvation by his own good works, or make condign satisfaction for the guilt of his sins, or the pains eternal due to them. 9. Cursed is he that contemns the word of God, or hides it from the people, on design to keep them from the knowledge of their duty, and to preserve them in ignorance and error. 10. Cursed is he that undervalues

the word of God, or that, forsaking scripture, chooses rather to follow human tradition than it.

11. Cursed is he that leaves the commandments of God, to observe the constitutions of men.

12. Cursed is he that omits any of the Ten Commandments, or keeps the people from the knowledge of any one of them, to the end they may not have occasion of discovering the truth.

13. Cursed is he that preaches to the people in unknown tongues, such as they understand not; or uses other means to keep them in ignorance.

14. Cursed is he that believes that the Pope can give to any, upon any account whatsoever, dispensations to lie, or swear falsely; or that it is lawful for any, at the last hour, to protest himself innocent in case he be guilty.

15. Cursed is he that encourages sins, or teaches men to defer the amendment of their lives, on presumption of a death-bed repentance.

16. Cursed is he that teaches men that they may be lawfully drunk on a Friday, or on any other fasting day, though they must not taste the least bit of flesh.

17. Cursed is he who places religion in nothing but a pompous shew, consisting only in ceremonies, and which teaches not the people to serve God in spirit and in truth.

18. Cursed is he who loves or promotes cruelty; that teaches people to be bloody-minded, and to lay aside the meekness of Jesus Christ.

19. Cursed is he who teaches that it is lawful to do any wicked thing, though it be for the interest and good of mother church; or that any evil action may be done that

good may come of it. 20. Cursed are we, if, amongst all those wicked principles and damnable doctrines commonly laid at our doors, every one of them be the faith of our church; and cursed are we, if we do not as heartily detest all those hellish practices, as they that so vehemently urge them against us. 21. Cursed are we, if, in answering and saying Amen to any of these curses, we use any equivocation, or mental reservations; or do not assent to them in the common and obvious sense of the words." To each of these several comminations the usual response of "Amen" is added.

Notwithstanding these, and many similar, declarations, which Catholics have from time to time made, many Protestants have persisted in charging them with the doctrines therein denied. I will, therefore, insert, in this place, the following clear and satisfactory address, published not long ago:

"An Address of several of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects, to their Protestant Fellow-Subjects:

His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects flattered themselves, that the declarations they had already made, of the integrity of their religious and civil tenets,—the oaths they had taken to His Majesty's person, family, and Government,—the heroic exertions of a considerable proportion

of them in His Majesty's fleets and armies,—the repeated instances in which they have come forward in their country's cause,—their irreproachable demeanour in the general relations of life,—and, above all, the several acts of Parliament past for their relief, avowedly in consequence of, and explicitly recognizing their meritorious conduct, would have been a bond, to secure to them for ever, the affection and confidence of all their fellow subjects, and to make any further declaration of their principles wholly unnecessary :

But, with astonishment and concern, they observe, that this is not altogether the case :—they are again publicly traduced ; and attempts are again made to prejudice the public mind against them :

We, therefore, English Roman Catholics, whose names are hereunder written, beg leave again to solicit the attention of our countrymen, and to lay before them the following unanswered and unanswerable documents, of the purity and integrity of *the religious and civil principles of ALL His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects*, in respect to their King and their Country.

We entreat you to peruse them ;—and when you have perused them, to declare,—Whether His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects maintain a single tenet, inconsistent with the purest loyalty ; or interfering, in the slightest degree, with

any one duty, which an Englishman owes his God, his King, or his Country ?

I.—The first document we present to you, is the Oath and Declaration prescribed by the British parliament, of the 31st of his present Majesty, and which is taken by all English Catholics,

I A. B. do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

“ **I A. B.** do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity: and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against him or them: And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown; which succession, by an act, entitled, ‘ An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,’ is, and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegi-

ance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms. And I do swear, that I do reject and detest, as an unchristian and impious position, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for, or under pretence of, their being heretics or infidels; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that faith is not to be kept with heretics or infidels: And I further declare, that it is not an article of my faith; and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure, the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever: And I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinions contrary to what is expressed in this declaration: And I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm: And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, or any person

whatever, and without thinking that I am, or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void.

So help me God."

II.—The next documents we present to you are, the Oaths and Declarations prescribed by the Acts of the Irish Parliament to Irish Roman Catholics:

The first is the oath of allegiance and declaration, prescribed by the Irish act of the 13th and 14th of his present Majesty; and is taken by all Irish Roman Catholics.

"I *A. B.* do take Almighty God, and his only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign Lord King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, that shall be made against his person, crown, and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, and his heirs, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of

my power, the succession of the crown in His Majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever, hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales, in the life-time of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming, or pretending a right to the crown of these realms; and I do swear that I do reject and detest, as unchristian and impious to believe, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics, and also that unchristian and impious principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics: I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure, the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet, any such opinion, or any other opinion, contrary to what is expressed in this declaration: and I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this

realm ; and I do solemnly in the presence of God, and of his only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this Declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

So help me God."

The next is the Oath and Declaration prescribed by the Irish Act of the 33d of His present Majesty, and is taken by all Irish Roman Catholics, wishing to entitle themselves to the benefit of that Act.

" I *A. B.* do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic Religion."

" I *A. B.* do swear that I do abjure, condemn and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any persons whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being a heretic : And I do

declare solemnly before God, that I believe that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused, by or under pretence or colour that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever: I also declare, that it is not an Article of the Catholic Faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the Pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order, but on the contrary, I hold that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto: I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatever committed by me, can be forgiven, at the mere will of any pope, or any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness, and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament: And I do swear that I will defend, to the uttermost of my power, the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being: I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, for

the purpose of substituting a Catholic Establishment in its stead : And I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant Religion and Protestant Government in this Kingdom.

“ So help me God.”

Such are the principles which His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects have publicly and solemnly declared and professed on oath. There is not, in any of them, a single principle, which every Roman Catholic subject of His Majesty does not profess, or which, if his King and Country required it, he would not think it his duty to seal with his blood.

III.—In the year 1788, a Committee of the English Catholics waited on Mr. Pitt, respecting their application for a repeal of the Penal Laws. He requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the Roman Catholic clergy and the Roman Catholic universities abroad, “ on the existence and extent of the Pope's dispensing power.”—Three questions were accordingly framed, and sent to the Universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcala, Doway, Salamanca, and Valadolid, for their opinions. The questions proposed to them were, 1. Has the Pope or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence

whatsoever, within the Realm of England? 2. Can the Pope or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever? 3. If there is any principle in the tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

The Universities answered unanimously:—
 1. That the Pope or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, has not any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the Realm of England. 2. That the Pope or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, CANNOT absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever. 3. That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions either of a public or a private nature. As soon as the opinions of the foreign Universities were received, they were transmitted to Mr. Pitt: but we earnestly beg of you to observe, that it was for *his* satisfaction, not *ours*, that these opinions were taken:—Assuredly,

His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects did not want the wisdom of foreign Universities to inform them, that His Majesty is the lawful sovereign of all his Roman Catholic subjects, and that, by every divine and human law, his Roman Catholic subjects owe him true, dutiful, active, and unreserved allegiance.

Such then, fellow countrymen and fellow subjects,—*such being our religious and civil principles*, in respect to our *King* and our *Country*,—let us now again ask you,—Is there in them, a single tenet, which is incompatible with the purest loyalty, or which, in the slightest degree, interferes with the duty we owe to God, our King, or our Country?

But,—are these principles really instilled into us? Do our actions correspond with them?—In reply we ask,—Are there not, at this very moment, thousands of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, who daily and hourly make the most heroic exertions and sacrifices in those fleets and armies, to whose patient and adventurous courage it is owing, that we are still blessed with a King and Country.

Now then, fellow countrymen and fellow subjects, be assured, that, among these heroic and inestimable defenders and supporters of their King and their Country, there is not one, whose parents and whose priests have not taught him,

that loyalty is a religious as much as a civil duty; and that, when he is fighting for his king and his country, he is performing a duty to his God."

This paper is signed by 59 of the most respectable Catholic noblemen and gentlemen of the kingdom, with the late venerable Dr. Douglass, Vic. Ap. London, at their head.

SECTION IV.

Some other Points on which Protestants have mistaken, and consequently misrepresented, Catholics.

THE chief points on which we have been in the habit of mistaking, and, consequently, of misrepresenting, Roman Catholics appear to be the following: The opinions held by some Catholics concerning the infallibility and power of the Pope,—the notions concerning works of supererogation, the use of images,—the practice of persecution,—the opinions relative to the salvation of heretics,—the use of the scriptures,—and, the belief in miracles. Had I undertaken, instead of a Picture of the Catholic Church, a description of the Faith of Cardinal Bellarmine, the vagaries of the schoolmen, or of any

other writer, or the rhapsodical flights of certain mystical Nuns and fanatical Friars.—Nay, if the faith of the Church were not distinct from, and independent of, the opinions of the highest individual authority, whether of a Pope,* a Cardinal, or a Bishop, ancient or modern, then, indeed, my task would have been an Herculean labour; and to have lessened the mistakes of my Protestant brethren, I must have explained ten thousand contradictory opinions, which have amused the leisure, or indulged the fancy, of

* I am sorry to have occasion to explain or correct what I have said on a former page (300–301) relative to the belief of Catholics, in regard to the spiritual government of the Pope. What is there unguardedly said on this subject is liable, I fear, to a misconception, and I take this early opportunity of correcting myself. Catholics do not believe that the Pope is literally the *sole* depository of the faith of Christians; but that he, as head of the Church, when connected with, and concurring in all the decisions of the whole Church, may be regarded as the director of the belief of all the faithful; so long as he does not attempt to teach any new doctrines, or any thing not before received by the whole Catholic communion. And when I say (p. 301), it is a doctrine held by Catholics that no true believer can enter heaven but through the recommendation of the Pope as Christ's visible viceregent, I mean, and ought to have written, that it is an opinion of Roman Catholics that no one can enter heaven who does not admit the doctrines taught and believed by the Vicar of Christ, and the whole Christian Church. This timely explanation will, I trust, prevent or remove any improper impressions which my former assertions might have produced on the mind of the reader.

doctors and canonists without number, in every age of the Church.

The following extracts from Mr. Gother's curious little pamphlet,* are so much to my present purpose, that I cannot do better than lay them before the reader in this place :—

“ *Of Praying to Images.*—A Papist truly represented believes it damnable to worship stocks and stones for gods, to pray to pictures or images of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, or of any other saints, to believe any virtue or divinity in them, or to put any trust or confidence in them. He is expressly taught the contrary to all this by the council of Trent, and his very children are instructed in their Catechisms, which are in the hands of all, that they must “ by “ no means pray to pictures or images, because they can “ neither see, nor hear, nor help them.” But what use then does the Papist make of pictures or images of Christ,

* “ *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented; or, a Two-fold Character of Popery.*” It is gratifying and encouraging to find that I am anticipated in referring to, and extracting from this little pamphlet, by the learned and liberal Dr. Butler (See his Installation Sermon, before referred to). In making these extracts, I have purposely omitted not only some entire points or characters, but have also withheld the first character of Popery, as it is “ *Misrepresented.*” The substance of those real or supposed *misrepresentations*, will easily be gathered from what the author states in his “ *Papist Represented.*” It is not necessary to repeat, that the author of the present work does not take upon himself to maintain or recommend the doctrines and practices *represented* in these extracts. They are given from a sincere and disinterested love of truth and justice. With such a view may they be read ! They are printed in a smaller type, that they might occupy as little space as possible.

of the blessed Virgin, or other saints? Wh by him to preserve in his mind the memory represented by them ; as people are wont to memory of their deceased friends by keeping He is taught to use them, so as to cast his pictures or images, and thence to raise his heart represented, and there to employ it in meditation, thanksgiving, desire of imitation, &c. as the object as many good Christians, placing a *Death's* them, from the sight of it, take occasion to reflect upon their last end, in order to their better preparation ; or by seeing *Old Time* painted with his *fore glass*, and *scythe*, turn their thoughts upon the shortness of time, and that whosoever neglects the present is in danger of beginning then to desire to lay hold of it when there is no more to come. These pictures or images having this advantage, that they inform the mind by one glance of what in reading might require a whole chapter. There being no other difference between them, than that reading represents leisurely, and by degrees ; and a picture all at once. Hence he finds a convenience in saying his prayers with some devout pictures before him, he being no sooner distracted but the sight of these recalls his wandering thoughts to the right object ; and as certainly brings something good into his mind, as an immodest picture disturbs his heart with filthy thoughts. And because he is sensible that these holy pictures and images represent and bring to his mind such objects, as in his heart he loves, honours, and venerates ; he cannot but upon that account love, honour, and respect the images themselves. As whosoever loves their husband, child, or friend, cannot but have some love and respect for their pictures ; whosoever loves and honours his king, will have some honour and regard for his image. Not that he venerates any image or picture, for any virtue or divinity believed to be in them, or for any thing that is to be petitioned of them ; but because the honour, that is exhibited to them, is referred to those whom they represent. So that it is not properly the images he honours, but Christ and his saints by the images : as it is not properly the images or pictures of kings or other men that we respect or injure : but by their images or pictures we respect or injure the persons themselves. All the veneration therefore he expresses before all images, whether by kneeling, lifting up the eyes, burn-

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ing candles, incense, &c. it is not at all done for the image, but is wholly referred to the things represented, which he intends to honour by these actions, and how by so doing, he breaks the second commandment, he cannot conceive; for he acknowledges only one God, and to him alone gives sovereign honour; and whatsoever respect he shews to a crucifix, picture, or image, seems to him no more injurious to any of the commandments, than it is for a Christian to love and honour his neighbour, because he bears the image of God in his soul; to kiss and esteem the Bible, because it contains and represents to him God's word; or to love a good preacher, because he reminds him of his duty; all which respects do not at all derogate from God Almighty's honour; but are rather testimonies of our great love and honour of him, since, for his sake, we love and esteem every thing that has any respect or relation to him.

2. *Of worshipping Saints.*—The Papist truly represented believes there is only one God, and that it is a most damnable idolatry to make gods of men, either living or dead. His Church teaches him indeed, and he believes *that it is good and profitable to desire the intercession of saints reigning with Christ in heaven*; but that they are gods or his redeemer is no where taught; but detests all such doctrine. He confesses that we are all redeemed by the blood of Christ alone, and that he is our only Mediator of redemption: but as for mediators of intercession, (that is, such as we may lawfully desire to pray for us) he does not doubt, but it is acceptable to God, we should have many. Moses was such a mediator for the Israelites; Job for his three friends; Stephen for his persecutors. The Romans were thus desired by St. Paul to be his mediators; so were the Corinthians, so the Ephesians; so almost every sick man desires the congregation to be his mediators, by remembering him in their prayers. And so the Papist desires the blessed in heaven to be his mediators; that is, that they would pray to God for him. And in this he does not at all neglect coming to God, or rob him of his honour; but directing all his prayers up to him, and making him the ultimate object of all his petitions, he only desires sometimes the just on earth, sometimes those in heaven to join their prayers to his, that so the number of petitioners being increased, the petition may find better ac-

ceptance in the sight of God. And this is not to make them gods, but only petitioners to God; it is not to make them his redeemers, but only intercessors to his Redeemer; he having no hopes of obtaining any thing but of God alone, by and through the merits of Christ; for which he desires the saints in heaven, and good men upon earth, to offer up their prayers with his; the prayers of the just availing much before God. But now, how the saints in heaven know the prayers and necessities of such who address themselves to them, whether by the ministry of angels, or in the vision of God, or by some particular revelation, it is no part of his faith, nor is it much his concern it should be determined. For his part he does not doubt, but that God, who acquainted the prophets with the knowledge of things, that were yet to come many hundred years after; that informed Elisha of the King of Syria's council, though privately resolved on, in his bed-chamber, and at a distance, can never want means of letting the saints know the desires of those who beg their intercession here on earth: especially since our Saviour informs us, that Abraham heard the petitions of Dives, who was as yet at a greater distance, even in hell; and told him likewise the manner of his living, while as yet on earth. Nay, since it is generally allowed, that even the very devils hear these desperate wretches who call on them, why then should be doubt that the saints want this privilege, who, though departed this life, are not so properly dead, as translated from a mortal life to an immortal one; where, enjoying God Almighty, they lose no perfections which they enjoyed while on earth, but possess all in a more eminent manner; having more charity, more knowledge, more interest with God than ever, and becoming like angels. And as these offered up their prayers for Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, so undoubtedly they likewise *fall down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints.* Apoc. v. 8.

3. *Of addressing more Supplications to the Virgin Mary than to Christ.*—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to think the Virgin Mary more powerful in heaven than Christ; or that she can in any thing command him. He honours her indeed, as one that was chosen to be the mother of God, and blessed amongst all women;

and believes her to be most acceptable to God, in her intercession for us: but owning her still as a creature, and that all she has of excellency is the gift of God, proceeding from his mere goodness. Neither does he at any time say even so much as one prayer to her, but what is directed more particularly to God; because offered up as a thankful memorial of Christ's incarnation, and acknowledgment of the blessedness of Jesus the fruit of her womb: and this without imagining there is any more dishonouring of God in his reciting the Angelical Salutation, than in his first pronouncing it by the Angel Gabriel and Elizabeth; or that his frequent repetition of it is any more an idle superstition than it was in David to repeat the same words over twenty-six times in the 126th Psalm.

4. *Of paying divine Worship to Relics.*—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to think there is any divinity in the relics of saints, or to adore them with divine honour, or to pray to their rotten bones, old rags or shrines, or that they can work any strange cures or miracles, by any hidden power of their own. But he believes it good and lawful to keep them with veneration, and to give them a religious honour and respect. And this he thinks due to them, inasmuch as knowing himself obliged to respect and honour God Almighty from his heart; he looks upon himself as obliged to respect and honour every thing that has any particular relation to him; but this with an inferior honour; such as the Jews shewed to the Ark, to the Tables of the Law, to Moses's rod, to the Temple, to the Priests. Such as we generally allow the Bible, because it contains God's word; to the church, because it is God's house; to holy men and priests, because they are God's servants. And so he does to relics, because they appertain to God's favourites: and being insensible things, are yet sensible pledges, and lively memorials of Christ's servants, dead indeed to this world, but alive with him in glory. And more especially because God himself has been pleased to honour them, by making them instruments of many evident miracles which he has visibly worked by them; as is evident upon undeniable record. And this he believes as easy for God Almighty now, and as much redounding to the honour of his holy name, as it is in the old law, to work such miraculous effects by Moses's rod, by Elias's

mantle, after he was taken up into heaven, Eliene's bones, and infinite other such like insensible things: and also in the new law, by the hem of his own garment, by the shadow of St. Peter, by the napkins and handkerchiefs that had but touched the body of St. Paul, casting out devils, and curing diseases, and such like. And thus by having a veneration and respect for these, he honours God: and does not doubt, but that they that contemn and profane these, do the like to God, as much as they did who profaned the bread of propitiation, the temple, and vessels that belonged to it.

5. *Of the Eucharist.*—The Papist truly represented believes it abominable to commit any kind of idolatry; and most damnable to worship or adore a breaden god, or to give divine honour to the elements of bread and wine. He worships only one God, who made heaven and earth, and his only Son Jesus Christ our Redeemer; who, being in all things equal to his Father, in truth and omnipotency, he believes, made his words good, pronounced at his last supper; really giving his body and blood to his apostles; the species or accident of bread and wine remaining as before. The same he believes of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, consecrated now by priests; that it really contains the body of Christ, which was delivered for us; and his blood, which was shed for the remission of sins: which being there united with the divinity, he confesses whole Christ to be present. And him he adores and acknowledges his Redeemer, and not any bread or wine. And for the believing of this mystery, he does not at all think it meet for any Christian to appeal from Christ's word to his own senses or reason, for the examining the truth of what he has said, but rather to submit his senses and reason to Christ's words in the obsequiousness of faith; and that being the son of Abraham, it is more becoming him to believe as Abraham did, promptly with a faith superior to all sense or reason, and whither these could never lead him. With this faith it is he believes every mystery of his religion, the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.; with this faith he believes, that what descended upon our Saviour at his baptism in Jordan, was really the Holy Ghost, though senses or reason could discover it to be nothing but a dove; with this faith he believes, that the man that Joshua saw

standing over against him with his sword drawn, and the three men that Abraham entertained in the plains of Mambré, were really and substantially no men; and that notwithstanding all the information and evidence of sense, from their colour, features, proportion, talking, eating; &c. of their being men; yet without any discredit to his senses, he really believes they were no such thing, because God's words has assured him of the contrary: and with this faith he believes Christ's body and blood to be really present in the blessed sacrament, though, to all outward appearance, there is nothing more than bread and wine: thus, not at all hearkening to his senses in a matter where God speaks, he unfeignedly confesses, that he that made the world of nothing by his sole word; that cured diseases by his word; that raised the dead by his word; that commanded the winds and seas; that multiplied bread; that changed water into wine by his word, and sinners into just men, cannot want power to change bread and wine into his own body and blood by his sole word. And this without danger of multiplying his body, of making as many Christs as altars, or leaving the right hand of his Father; but only by giving to his body a supernatural manner of existence, by which, being without extension of parts, rendered independent of place, it may be one and the same in many places at once, and whole in every part of the symbols, and not obnoxious to any corporal contingencies. And this kind of existence is no more, than what in a manner he bestows upon every glorified body; than what his own body had, when born without the least violation of his mother's virginal integrity; when he arose from the dead, out of the sepulchre, without removing the stone; when he entered amongst his disciples, the doors being shut. And though he cannot understand how this is done, yet he undoubtedly believes that God is able to do more than he is able to understand.

7. Of Confession.—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable in any religion to make gods of men. However, he firmly holds, that when Christ, speaking to his apostles, said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained*; he gave them, and their successors, the bishops and priests of the Catholic

Church, authority to absolve any truly penitent sinner from his sin. And God having thus *given them the ministry of reconciliation*, and made them *Christ's legates, Christ's ministers, and the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ*, and given them *power that whatsoever they loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven*, he undoubtedly believes, that whosoever comes to them making a sincere and humble confession of his sins, with a true repentance and firm purpose of amendment, and a hearty resolution of turning from his evil ways, may from them receive absolution, by the authority given them from heaven, and no doubt but God ratifies above the sentence pronounced in that tribunal; *loosing in heaven whatsoever is thus loosed by them on earth*. And that, whosoever comes without the due preparation, without a repentance from the bottom of his heart, and a real intention of forsaking his sins, receives no benefit by the absolution; but adds sin to sin, by a high contempt of God's mercy, and abuse of his sacraments.

8. *Of Indulgences.*—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to hold, that the Pope, or any other power in heaven or earth, can give him leave to commit any sins whatsoever: or that for any sum of money he can obtain an indulgence or pardon for sins that are to be committed by him, or his heirs, hereafter. He firmly believes that no sins can be forgiven, without a true and hearty repentance: but that still, there is a power in the Church of granting indulgences, by which, as he is taught in his catechism, nothing more is meant than a releasing, to such as are truly penitent, the debt of temporal punishment, which remained due on account of those sins, which as the guilt and eternal punishment had been already remitted by repentance and confession. For we see in the case of King David, that the debt of the temporal punishment is not always remitted, when the guilt of the sin is remitted; and as the Church of God from the beginning was ever convinced of this truth, therefore, besides the hearty repentance and confession, which she insisted upon in order for the discharge of the guilt of sin; she also required severe penances, sometimes of three, seven, ten years or more, for the discharge of the debt of the temporal punishment due to divine justice. Now the releasing or moderating for just causes these penalties incurred by sin, is called an indul-

gence. And the power of granting such indulgences is visibly implied in the promise of the keys, and of binding and loosing made to the pastors of the Church. And the exercise of this power was frequent in the primitive church; and is even authorized by the example of St. Paul himself, who granted such an indulgence to the incestuous Corinthian, *forgiving, as he says, in the person of Christ*; that is, by the power and authority he had received from him. Now the good works usually required for the obtaining indulgences, are prayer, fasting, visiting churches, confession, communion, and alms-deeds; but what money there is given at any time on this account concerns not at all the Pope's coffers, but is, by every one given as they please, either to the poor, to the sick, to prisoners, &c., where they judge it most charity. As to the rest, if any abuses have been committed in granting or gaining indulgences, through the fault of some particular persons, these cannot in justice be charged upon the church, to the prejudice of her faith and doctrine; especially, since she has been so careful in the re-tranching them; as may be seen by what was done in the council of Trent.

9, *Of Satisfaction.*—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to think injuriously of Christ's passion. Nevertheless he believes, that though condign satisfaction for the guilt of sin, and the pain eternal due to it, be proper only to Christ our Saviour; yet that penitent sinners being redeemed by Christ, and made his members, may in some measure satisfy by prayers, fasting, alms, &c. for the temporal pain, which by order of God's justice, sometimes remains due after the guilt, and the eternal pains are remitted. So that trusting in Christ, as his Redeemer, he yet does not think that by Christ's sufferings, every Christian is discharged of his particular sufferings; but that every one is to suffer something for himself, as St. Paul did, who by many tribulations, and by suffering in his own flesh, filled up that which was behind of the passion of Christ; and this not only for himself, but for the whole church, and this he finds every where in scripture, viz. people admonished of the greatness of their sins, doing penance in fasting, sackcloth, and ashes, and by voluntary austerities, endeavouring to satisfy the divine justice. And these personal satisfactions God has sufficiently also minded him of in the

punishments inflicted on Moses, Aaron, David, and infinite others; and even in the afflictions sent by God upon our own age, *plagues, wars, fires, persecutions, rebellions*, and such like: which, few are so atheistical, but they confess to be sent from heaven for the just chastisement of our sins; and which we are to undergo, notwithstanding the infinite satisfaction made by Christ, and without any undervaluing it. Now being thus convinced of some temporal punishments being due to his sins, he accepts of all tribulations, whether in body, name, or estate, from whencesoever they come; and with others of his own chusing, offers them up to God; for the discharging this debt; still confessing, that his offences deserve yet more. But these penitential works he is taught to be no otherwise satisfactory than as joined and applied to the satisfaction which Jesus made upon the cross; in virtue of which alone, all our good works find a grateful acceptance in God's sight.

10. *Of reading the Holy Scriptures.*—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable in any one to think, speak, or do any thing irreverently towards the scripture; or by any means whatsoever to bring it into disrepute or disgrace. He holds it in the highest veneration of all men living; he professes it to be the pure oracles of God; and that we are rather bound to lose our lives, than concur any way to its profanation. It is true, he does not think it fit to be read generally, by all, in the vulgar tongues: not for any disrespect to it; but, 1, Because he understands, that private interpretation is not proper for the scripture, because in the epistles of Saint Paul are *certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as also the rest of the scriptures, to their own perdition*. Because God hath given only *some to be apostles, some prophets, other some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers*. For these reasons he is taught, that it is not convenient for the scripture to be read indifferently by all men, but only by such as are humble, discreet and devout, and such as are willing to observe directions in the perusing this sacred volume: that is, to take notice of all godly histories; and imitable examples of humility, chastity, obedience, mercy to the poor, &c. and in all hard, obscure, and disputable points to refer all to the arbitration of the church, to the judgment of those whom God hath appointed pastors

and teachers : never presuming to contend, controul, teach, or talk of their own sense and fancy in deep questions of divinity, and high mysteries of faith; but expecting the sense of these from the *lips of the priest, who shall keep knowledge, and from whose mouth they shall require the law*. And this caution is used, lest the scripture coming into the hands of a presuming sort of proud, curious, and contentious people, be abused and perverted : who make it their business to enquire into high and hidden secrets of God's counsels, and upon the presumption of I know not what spirit, immediately become teachers, comptrollers; and judges of doctors, church, scripture and all; and acknowledging no authority left by Christ, to which they are to submit; under pretence of scripture and God's word, make way for all sort of profaneness, irreligion, and atheism. So that it is not for the preserving ignorance, he allows a restraint upon the reading the scriptures, but for the preventing a blind ignorant presumption; and that it may be done to edification and not to destruction, and without casting what is *holy to dogs, or pearls to swine*.

11. *Of the Scripture as a Rule of Faith.*—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to undervalue the scripture, or to take from it the authority given it by Christ. He gives it all respect due to the word of God; he owns it to be of the greatest authority upon earth, and that it is capable of leading a man to all truth, where it is rightly understood. But to any one that understands it, and takes it in any other sense than what it was intended by the Holy Ghost, he believes it to such a one, to be no scripture, no word of God; that to such a one, it is no rule of faith, nor judge of controversies; and that what he thinks to be the doctrine of Christ, and command of heaven, is nothing but his own imagination and the suggestion of the devil. And since by the experience of so many hundred heresies since our Saviour's time, all pretending to be grounded on scripture, he finds that almost every text of the bible, and even those that concern the most essential and fundamental points of the christian religion, have been interpreted several ways, and made to signify things contrary to one another; and that while thus contrary meanings are by several persons drawn from the same word, the scripture is still silent, without discovering which of all those senses is

that intended by the Holy Ghost, and agreeable to truth; and which are erroneous and antichristian: he concludes that the scripture alone, without taking along with it the interpretation of the church, cannot be to every private person the whole rule of his faith. Not that there is any authority wanting on the scripture side; but because no private person can be certain whether, amongst all the several meanings every text is liable to, that which he understands it in, is right, or not. And without this certainty of truth, and security from error, he knows there is nothing capable of being a sufficient rule of his faith.

12. *Of the Interpretation of Scripture.*—The Papist truly represented believes that the church is not above the scripture; but only allows that order between them, as is between the judge and the law; and is no other than what generally every private member of the reformation challenges to himself, as often as he pretends to decide any doubt of his own, or his neighbour, in religion, by interpreting the scripture. Neither is he taught at all to distrust the scripture, or not to rely on it; but only to distrust his own private interpretation of it; and not to rely on his own judgment in the resolution of any doubt concerning faith or religion, though he can produce several texts in favour of his opinion. But in all such cases he is commanded to recur to the church; and having learnt from her the true sense of all such texts, how they have been understood by the whole community of Christians, in all ages since the apostles; and what has been their received doctrine, in such doubtful and difficult points; he is obliged to submit to this, and never presume on his own private sentiments, however seemingly grounded on reason and scripture, to believe or preach any new doctrine opposite to the belief of the church; but as he receives from her the book, so also to receive from her the sense of the book; with a holy confidence, that she that did not cheat him in delivering a false book for the true one, will not cheat him in delivering him a false and erroneous sense for the true one; her authority, which is sufficient in the one, being not less in the other: and his own private judgment, which was insufficient in the one, that is, in finding out the true scripture, and discerning it from all other books, being as incapable and in-

sufficient in the other; that is, in certainly discovering the meaning of the Holy Ghost, and avoiding all other heterodox and mistaken interpretations.

13. *Of Tradition.*—The Papist truly represented believes the scripture not to be imperfect, nor to want human ordinations, or traditions of men, for the supplying any defects in it; neither does he allow the same authority to these, as the word of God; or give them equal credit; or exact it from others, that desire to be admitted into the communion of his church. He believes no divine faith ought to be given to any thing, but what is of divine revelation; and that nothing is to have place in his creed, but what was taught by Christ and his apostles, and has been delivered and taught in all ages by the church of God, the congregation of all true believers, and has been so delivered down to him through all ages. But now, whether that which has been so delivered down to him, as the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, has been by word of mouth or writing, is altogether indifferent to him, he being ready to follow, in this point, as in all others, the command of St. Paul, that is, to *stand fast, and hold the tradition he has learned, whether by word or epistle*, and to look upon any one as *anathema, that shall preach otherwise than as he has (thus) received*. So that as he undoubtedly holds the whole bible to be the word of God, because in all ages it has been so taught, preached, believed, and delivered successively by the faithful; although they are not, nor have not at any time been able to prove what they have thus taught and delivered with one text of scripture; in the like manner, he is ready to receive and believe all this same congregation has, together with the bible, in all ages successively, without interruption, taught, preached, believed, and delivered as the doctrine of Christ and his apostles; and assents to it with divine faith; just as he does to the bible; and esteems any one *anathema, that shall preach otherwise than he has thus received*.

14. *Of Councils.*—The Papist truly represented believes that the faith of his church can receive no additions, and that he is obliged to believe nothing, besides that which Christ and his apostles taught; and if any thing contrary to this should be defined and commanded to be believed, even by ten thousand councils, he believes it damnable in

any one to receive it, and by such decrees, to make additions to his creed. However, he maintains the authority of general councils lawfully assembled; whose business it is, not to coin new articles of faith, or devise such tenets; but only, as often as any point of received doctrine is impugned, or called in question, to debate the matter; and examine what has been the belief of all nations, who are there present, in their prelates, in that point; and this being agreed on, to publish and make known to the world, which is the catholic doctrine, left by Christ and his apostles; and which the new broached errors. And by this means to prevent the loss of an infinite number of souls, which might otherwise be deluded, and carried away after new inventions. And in this case he believes that he is obliged to submit, and receive the decrees of such a council: the pastors and prelates there present being by Christ and his apostles appointed for the decision of such controversies; they having the care of that flock committed to them, *over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers to feed the Church of God, and to watch against those men who should arise from among themselves, speaking perverse things to draw disciples after them.* And he that received command, as likewise the whole flock of Christ, has to obey their prelates, and to be subject to them, who watch, and are to render an account for their souls, with an assurance, that he that heareth them, heareth Christ; and he that despiseth them, despiseth Christ.

20. *Of the Mass.*—The Papist truly represented believes that the sacrifice made by Christ upon the cross was altogether sufficient: that by it he saved and redeemed us, paying the debt of sin, and satisfying the infinite justice of his Father: that by it he procured for us all means for our salvation; all graces in order for faith and good works; all the sacraments; and which of all things is most honourable to God, the offering of a sacrifice. But as Christ's worshipping of God, his fasting, praying and suffering for us, does not hinder or evacuate our worshipping of God, our fasting, suffering, or praying for ourselves; so neither did his sacrifice hinder or evacuate all sacrifices for ever. And as he instituted fasting, praying, and suffering for his followers, that by so doing, they might apply what he did to themselves; so also he instituted a sacrifice, that by it they might apply the merits of his sa-

sacrifice, and make it beneficial to their souls. So that though he firmly believes that Christ offered sacrifice for our redemption, and by the one only offering; spoken of by St. Paul, perfected, by way of redemption, the sanctification of all those that are sanctified; yet he also believes, that to receive the benefit of this offering, we must also do our parts, by our good works concurring with Christ, and in some manner purifying our own souls, and therefore not omit the best of all works, which is sacrifice: which our Saviour Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, when leaving to us his body and blood under the two distinct species of bread and wine, he bequeathed as a legacy to his apostles, not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice: a commemorative sacrifice, lively representing, in an unbloody manner, the bloody sacrifice which was offered for us upon the cross; and by a distinction of the symbols, distinctly showing forth his (Christ's) death until he come. This he gave in charge to his apostles, as to the first and chief priests of the New Testament, and to their successors to offer; commanding them to do the same thing he had done at his last supper, in commemoration of him. And this is the oblation, or sacrifice of the Mass, which has been observed, performed, frequented by the faithful in all ages, attested by the general consent of all antiquity, universal tradition, and the practice of the whole church; mentioned and allowed of by all the fathers, Greek and Latin, and never called into question till of late years; being that pure offering which the prophet Malachy foretold should be offered among the Gentiles in every place, as this text was ever understood by the ancient fathers.

21. *Of Purgatory.*—The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to admit of any thing for faith that is contrary to reason, the word of God, and all antiquity: but that the existence of a third place, called purgatory, is so far from being contrary to all, or any of these, that it is attested, confirmed, and established by them all. It is expressly taught in the second of Maccabees, c. xii., where money was sent to Jerusalem that sacrifice might be offered for the slain, and it is recommended as a wholesome practice to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins. Now these two books of Maccabees were certainly held in great veneration by all antiquity; and, as St.

Augustine informs us, were then accounted canonical by the church. The being also of a third place is plainly intimated by our Saviour, where he says, *whosoever speaks against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.* By which words Christ evidently supposes, that though these shall not, yet some sins are forgiven in the world to come; which, since it cannot be in heaven, where no sin can enter; nor in hell, where there is no remission; it must necessarily be in some middle state; and in this sense it was understood by St. Augustine about 1300 years ago. So also by St. Gregory the Great. In the same manner does St. Augustine understand these words of St. Paul. *He himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.* When he thinks him to speak of a purging fire, so the same father understands that prison of which St. Peter speaks, to be some place of temporal chastisement. And if this great doctor of the church, in those purer times, found so often in the bible a place of pains after this life, from whence there was release, how can any one say, without presumption, that the being of a third place is contrary to the word of God? Neither can the antiquity of this doctrine be more justly called in question, of which is found so early mention, not only in this holy father, but in divers others his predecessors, who came not long after the apostles, and were the best witnesses of their doctrine. As to the reasonableness of this tenet, his reason convinces him, 1. That every sin, how slight soever, though no more than an idle word, as it is an offence to God, deserves punishment, and will be punished by him hereafter, if not previously cancelled by repentance here. 2. That such small sins do not deserve eternal punishment. 3. That few depart this life so pure as to be totally exempt from spots of this nature, and from every kind of debt due to God's justice. 4. Therefore, that few will escape without suffering something from his justice for such debts as they may have carried with them out of this world; according to that rule of divine justice by which he treats every soul hereafter according to their works, and according to the state in which he finds them in death. Thus his reason convinces him that there must be some third place; for, since the infinite goodness of God can admit no one into heaven who is not clean, and pure from all sin, both great and small, and his infinite jus-

tice can permit none to receive the reward of bliss, who as yet are not out of debt, but have something in justice to suffer; there must of necessity be some place or state, where souls departing this life, pardoned as to the eternal guilt or pain, yet obnoxious to some temporal penalty, or with the guilt of some venial faults, are purged and purified before their admittance into heaven. This is what he is taught concerning purgatory: which, though he knows not where it is, nor of what nature the pains are, nor how long each soul is detained there; yet he believes that those that are in this place, being the living members of Jesus Christ, are relieved by the prayers of their fellow-members on earth, as also by the alms and masses offered up to God for their souls. And as for such as have no relations or friends to pray for them, or to give alms, or procure masses for their relief, they are not neglected by the church, which makes a general commemoration of all the faithful departed in every mass, and in every one of the canonical hours of the divine office.

23. *Of the Second Commandment.*—The Papist truly represented is instructed in his whole duty towards God, and most especially in the ten commandments. He is taught to understand them all and every one, that there is an obligation of observing them, under pain of eternal damnation; and that whosoever breaks any one of them loses the favour of God, and as certainly hazards the loss of his soul, as if he broke them all. And though in some short catechisms in which the whole christian doctrine is delivered in the most compendious and easy method, in condescension to weak memories and low capacities, the second commandment, as it is reckoned by some, be omitted; yet it is to be seen at length in other catechisms, manuals, and doctrinal books, to be met with every where in great plenty. And if any one should chance not to see any of these, yet would he be out of all danger of falling into any superstitious worship or idolatry; for that having read the first commandment, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*, he is taught by this, that he is commanded to serve, love, adore and worship one only true, living and eternal God, and no more: that it is forbidden him to worship any creature for a God, or to give it the honour due to God; and that whosoever worships any idols,

images, pictures, or any graven thing, whatsoever the object be, whether in heaven above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth, for God, breaks the commandment, by committing idolatry, and stands guilty of an inexcusable and most damnable sin. Now having been taught that this is the intent of the first precept of the decalogue, he thinks there can be but little danger of his becoming superstitious in his worship, or an idolater, for want of the second; there being nothing in this, but what he is fully and expressly instructed in, by having learnt the first; it being rather an explication of this than any new and distinct precept: and for this reason he finds them in his books put together as one, or rather as the first commandment, with its explication; by which means it comes about, that there are only three in the first table, teaching him his duty towards God; and seven in the latter, concerning his duty to his neighbour; which is the division assigned by St. Augustine. And though St. Jerom observes not this method, but divides them into four and six; yet there being no direction in scripture concerning the number of the commandments to be assigned to each table, nor to let us know which is the first, which the second, which the third commandment, or which the last; he is taught that it is but an unnecessary trouble to concern himself about the number or division of them, when as his whole business ought to be the observance of them in his life and conversation.

24. *Of mental Reservations.*—The Papist truly represented is taught to keep faith with all sorts of people, of whatsoever judgment or persuasion they be, whether in communion with his church or not; he is taught to stand to his word, and observe his promise given or made to any whatsoever; and that he cannot cheat or cozen, whether by dissembling, equivocations, or mental reservations, without defiance of his own conscience, and the violation of God's law. This is the instruction he receives from the pulpit, the confessionary, and his books of direction, and nothing is more inculcated in his church than sincerity and truth. But as to the doctrine and practice of equivocations and mental reservations, so far from being approved by his church, he finds it expressly censured by Pope Innocent XI. in a decree issued forth March 2, 1679, pro-

hibiting the teaching or maintaining of it under pain of excommunication. He is taught therefore to speak plainly and sincerely, without any such artifices, which cannot but be very injurious to all society, and displeasing to the first sight. And now, if any authors in communion with his church, be produced as patrons and abettors of these mental juggles, let them hold up their hands, and answer for themselves: their church has approved of no such doctrine, and is no more to be charged with their particular opinions, than with the unexemplary lives of other her members, whose irregularities are not at all derived from their religion, but from following their own corrupt inclinations, and giving way to the temptations of their enemy.

26. *Of Fasting.*—The Papist truly represented is taught by his church that the appearance of devotion, the name of mortification, and pretence to it, are only vain and fruitless things, if they are not accompanied with the substance. And that it is but a very lame compliance with the ecclesiastical precept of fasting, to abstain from flesh, unless all other excesses are at the same time carefully avoided. It is true, his church has not forbidden on these days the drinking of wine, but permits a moderate use of it, as at other times: but is so far from giving liberty to any of her flock of committing excesses, that she declares drunkenness and all gluttony whatsoever, to be more heinous and scandalous sins on such days, than any other; they being expressly contrary, not only to the law of God, but also to the intention of the church, which appoints these times for the retrenching debaucheries and conquering our vicious appetites. And now, if any of his profession make less scruple of being drunk on a fasting-day, than of eating the least bit of flesh, he knows nothing more can be said of them, than of many of another communion, who will not break the sabbath-day, by doing any servile work on it, for all the world, looking on this as a most damning sin; and yet at the same time, have but little scruple of swearing, cursing, lying, or revelling the greatest part of the day; which is not, because they have more liberty for these than the former, they being all most wicked offences; but because they that do thus are but Christians by halves, who with a kind of pharisaical and partial obedience, seem to bear some of the commandments most zealously in their

hearts, while they trample others under their feet; stumbling many times at a mote, and on other occasions passing by a beam undiscerned; for which their church is not to be accountable, but they themselves, as being guilty of a wilful blindness, and a most unchristian negligence. This is the real case of such of his communion, who, on days of humiliation, while they abstain from flesh, yet give scandal by their intemperance. They have a command of God, by which they are obliged on all days to live soberly, and to avoid all gluttony and drunkenness; and on fasting-days, besides this command of God, they have a church precept, by which they are bound, if able to eat but one meal in a day, and that not of flesh. And now if some are so ignorant and careless, as to be scrupulously observant of one of these commands, and wholly negligent of the other, it is not because their religion teaches them to do so (which detests and condemns all such scandalous partiality, and complying with their duty by halves) but because they shut their ears to all good instruction, and choose rather to follow their own corrupt appetites, than the wholesome doctrine of their church.

28. *Of Friars and Nuns.*—The Papist truly represented is taught to have a high esteem for those of his communion, who undertake that sort of life, which, according to Christ's own direction, and his apostles, is pointed out as the best. A sort of people who endeavour to perform all that God has commanded, and also what he has counselled as the better, and in order to more perfection. They hear Christ declaring the danger of riches; they therefore embrace a voluntary poverty, and lay aside all titles to wealth and possessions. St. Paul preaches, that he that giveth not his virgin in marriage, doth better than he that does; and that she that is unmarried, cares for the things of the Lord, how she may be holy both in body and in spirit; they therefore choose a single state, consecrating their virginity to God, that so they may be wholly intent on his service, and careful how to please him; while she that is married cares for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. The gospel proclaims, that those that will follow Christ, must deny themselves: they therefore renounce their own wills, and without respect to their own proper inclinations, pass their life in perpetual obedience.

And because the world is so corrupt, that to a pious soul every business is a distraction, every diversion a temptation, and more frequently provocations to evil, than examples to good; they therefore retire from it as much as possible, and confining themselves to a little corner or cell, apply themselves wholly to devotion, making prayer their business, the service of God their whole employ, and the salvation of their souls their only design. And now, if in these retirements, where every thing is so ordered as to be most advantageous for the promoting of virtue and devotion, and nothing permitted that is likely to prove a disturbance to godliness, or allurements to evil, yet if some (for, God be praised, it is far from being the case of the generality) live scandalously, and give ill example to the world, what can be said, but that no state can secure any man; and that no such provision can be made in order to a holy life, but may be abused? But yet he does not think that such abuses, and the viciousness of some, can be argument enough to any just and reasonable man, to condemn the whole, and the institution itself. Is not marriage abused an infinite number of ways, and many forced to embrace this state, or at least to accept of such particular persons contrary to their own choice and liking? Is there any state in this world, any condition, trade, calling, profession, degree, or dignity whatsoever, which is not abused by some? Are churches exempt from abuses? Are not bibles and the word of God abused? Is not Christianity itself abused, and even the mercy of God abused? If therefore there is nothing so sacred or divine in the whole world, which wicked and malicious men do not pervert to their ill designs, to the high dishonour of God, and their own damnation, how can any one, upon the mere consideration of some abuses, pass sentence of condemnation against a thing, which otherwise is good and holy? It is an undeniable truth, that to embrace a life exempt, as much as can be, from the turmoils of the world; and in a quiet retirement to dedicate one's self to the service of God, and spend one's days in prayer and contemplation, is a most commendable undertaking, and very becoming a Christian. And yet if some, who enter upon such a course of life as this, fall short of what they pretend, and instead of becoming eminent in virtue and godliness, by their unexemplary lives, prove a scandal to their profession; is the

rule and institution to be condemned ; or rather, ~~they who~~ ^{they who} ~~swerve from it?~~ ^{swerve from it?} No, let not the dignity of an apostle ~~sway~~ ^{sway} for the fall of Judas ; nor the commandments lie under an aspersion upon account of those that break them.

31. *Of Holy Water.*—The Papist truly represented utterly disapproves all sorts of superstition ; and yet is taught to have an esteem for holy water, blessed candles, and holy oil, not doubting but that such men, as have consecrated themselves to the service of God, in the preaching the gospel, and administration of the sacraments, have a particular respect due to them above the laity ; as churches dedicated to God are otherwise to be looked on, than other dwelling houses ; so likewise other creatures, which are particularly deputed by the prayers and blessing of the priest to certain uses for God's own glory, and the spiritual and corporal good of Christians, ought to be respected in a degree above other common things. And what superstition is there in the use of them ? Has not God himself prescribed such inanimate things, and holy men made use of them, for an intent above their natural power ; and this without any superstition ? Was there superstition in the waters of jealousy, or in the salt used by Elisha for sweetening the infected waters ? Was it superstition in Christ to use clay for opening the eyes of the blind ? or in the apostles to make use of oil for curing the sick ? And though there be no express command in scripture, for blessing water, candles, &c. yet there is this assurance, that *every creature is sanctified by the word of God and prayer*, and frequently promises that God will hear the prayers of the faithful. Why therefore should he doubt, but that these creatures on which the blessing of God is solemnly implored by the word of God, and the prayers of the priest and people, for their sanctification, are really sanctified, according to the assurance of the apostle, and the promises of God ? St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century, made no question, but that as those things, which are offered to idols, though pure in their own nature, are made impure by the invocation of devils ; so, on the contrary, simple water is made holy, and gets a sanctity, by virtue received from the invocation of the Holy Ghost, of Christ our Lord, and his eternal Father. And that the blessed water was capable, by virtue received from

heaven, of working effects above its own nature, was certainly the sentiment of the Christians in the primitive times. St. Epiphanius relates a passage at length, how water being blessed in the name of Jesus, and sprinkled upon fire, which by witchcraft was made inactive, and hindered from burning, immediately the enchantment ceased, and the fire burned: as also, that a possessed person being sprinkled with blessed water, the party was immediately cured. Theodoret has the like narrative of the devil hindering fire from burning, and how he was chased away, and the charm dissolved by blessed water being thrown on it. And St. Jerom relates how Italicus took water from blessed Hilarion, and cast it on his bewitched horses, his chariot, and the barriers from which he used to run, and that the charms of witchery did cease upon the sprinkling this water; so that all cried out, *Marnas victus est a Christo*; Christ hath conquered Marnas, the idol. And now there is no jeering or ridiculing these things, that will ever make them look like idle superstitions, to one that considers seriously how much they are grounded upon reason, the word of God, antiquity, and the authority and practice of the Catholic Church, which approves the use of them, yet so as plainly to teach that there is no confidence to be put in any thing, but only in Jesus Christ; and that what power these things have, they have it not of themselves, but only from heaven, and by the invocation of the name of Jesus; who as by his heavenly blessing he enables us to do things above the power of nature, so also by the prayers of his church, he blesses these things, in order to the working effects above their own natural qualities, that by them his fatherly benefits may be applied to us, and that so the faithful may more particularly honour and bless him in all his creatures.

32. *Of Breeding up People in Ignorance.*—The Papist truly represented has all the liberty, encouragement, and convenience of becoming learned of any people or persuasion whatsoever. And none that has ever looked over any library, but has found that the greatest numbers and choicest books of all sciences, have had men of his communion for their authors: none that in his travels has taken a thorough view of the universities in Popish countries, of Paris, Louvain, Salamanca, Bologna, &c. (and considered their

laborious studies, in philosophy, divinity, history, the fathers, councils, scriptures, &c.; and besides the students here, has seen how many thousands there are in religious houses, who free from the disturbances of the world, make virtue and learning the business of their whole life; will ever lay ignorance to the charge of the Papists), but must in justice confess, that amongst them are to be found as many and as great scholars, as amongst any people or societies in the world. And as to the vulgar and common sort of that profession, though they understand not Latin, yet they are not trained up in ignorance of their religion, nor led along in blindness; but are so well provided with books in their own mother tongue, of instruction and devotion, wherein is explained the whole duty of a Christian, every mystery of their faith, and all the offices and ceremonies performed in the church, that they must be very negligent, or else have very mean parts, who do not arrive at a sufficient knowledge of their obligation in every respect. And whoever has seen the great pains and care some good men take abroad, in explaining on Sundays and holy-days in their churches, and on week-days in the streets, the christian doctrine to the crowds of the ignorant and meaner sort of people, not omitting to reward such as answer well with some small gifts, to encourage youth, and provoke them to commendable emulation, will never say that the Papists keep the poor people in ignorance, and hide from them their religion; but rather that they use all means for instructing the ignorant, and omit nothing that can any ways conduce to the breeding up of youth in the knowledge of their faith, and letting them see into the religion they are to profess. Neither does it seem to him, even so much as probable, that if the church offices and service, &c. were performed in the vulgar tongue, that upon this the now ignorant people would immediately discover so many idle superstitions, senseless devotions, and gross errors, that they would in great numbers upon the sight become deserters of that communion, of which they are now professed members. For since there is nothing done but in a language, which the learned, judicious, and leading men of all nations every where understand, and yet these espy nothing to fright them from their faith; but notwithstanding their seeing all through and through, they yet admire all for solid, holy and

apostolical, and remain steadfast in their profession, how can it be imagined, that the vulgar, weak, and unlearned sort, did they understand all as well as they, would espy any such errors and superstitions, which these others, with all their learning and judgment, cannot discover? No, he thinks there is no reason to fear, that what passes the test among the wise and learned, can be groundlessly called in question by the multitude.

SECTION V.

Of the Mass; and various other Points of Doctrine, Discipline, and Church Government.

THE council of Trent decrees, that divine service shall not be performed in the mother tongue;* this, however, is only the case as far as concerns the *Latin Church*: the numerous churches of the east, which are still in communion with Roman Catholics, are allowed to have service performed in their respective national tongues. The Coptic, Sclavonian, Armenian, and Greek languages are used in numerous churches; and many of the eastern Catholics have colleges at Rome, and perform the liturgy each in their respective languages. Many Protestants erroneously suppose, that

* *Sess. 22. cap. 8.*

Catholics uniformly offer up *all* their public prayers in the Latin tongue. If we would now and then give ourselves the trouble to shake off our prejudices, and join in the worship of the common God of Christians in a Catholic chapel even in this country, we should find our mistake in this point. For my own part, I see no reason for the use of the Latin tongue in the services of religion; but neither do I see any very strong reasons for the dreadful outcry about the use of a Latin liturgy. At any rate, it is only fair to let the Catholics speak for themselves on this point; and they tell us, that "The liturgy in the vulgar tongue of every country would be attended with great inconvenience: neither is it," they say, "so very requisite, seeing the priest at mass is not *preaching* but *praying*, and offering sacrifice for the people; and they are otherwise instructed in the meaning of this sacrifice."* Besides, the mass is translated for the benefit and instruction of all worshippers who use it.

I will now lay before the reader, in a concise manner, the ceremonies of the mass, which many Catholics look upon as the most acceptable of all adorations, and the most effectual of

* The Poor Man's Controversy, by J. Mannock. p. 69. Ed. 1769.

all prayers. The church not only prays herself at this sacrifice, which the priest offers up to God in the most solemn manner, but Jesus Christ, by the sacrifice of his own body, is supposed to offer up to his Father the most perfect adoration that can possibly be paid him, since it is offered up by a God.

The mass consists of two parts:—the first, from the beginning to the offering, which was formerly called the mass of the catechumens; and the second, from the offering to the conclusion, called the mass of the faithful. All persons without distinction were present at it till the offering; then the deacon cried out, *holy things are for such as are holy; let the profane depart hence.*

Monsieur Picart presents us with thirty-five curious prints to illustrate the several descriptions of these ceremonies.*

1. The priest goes to the altar, in allusion to our Lord's retreat with his apostles to the garden of Olives. 2. Before he begins mass, he says a preparatory prayer. The priest is then to look on himself as one abandoned of God, and driven out of paradise for the sin of Adam.

* Vol. i. p. 324. et seq. See also the Explanation of the Mass.

3. The priest makes confession for himself, and for the people, in which it is required that he be free from mortal and from venial sin. 4. The priest kisses the altar, as a token of our reconciliation with God, and our Lord's being betrayed by a kiss. 5. The priest goes to the epistle side of the altar, and thurifies or perfumes it. Jesus Christ is now supposed to be taken and bound. 6. The *Introite*, said or sung, i. e. a psalm or hymn, applicable to the circumstance of our Lord's being carried before Caiaphas the high priest. 7. The priest says the *Kyrie Eloison*, which signifies, Lord, have mercy upon us, three times, in allusion to Peter's denying our Lord thrice. 8. The priest turning towards the altar, says, *Dominus vobiscum*, i. e. The Lord be with you: the people return this salutation, *cum Spiritu tuo*, and with thy Spirit, Jesus Christ looking at Peter. 9. The priest reads the epistle relating to Jesus being accused before Pilate. 10. The priest bowing before the altar, says *Munda cor*, i. e. Cleanse our hearts. The gradual is sung. This psalm is varied according as it is the time of Lent or not. The devotion is now directed to our Saviour's being accused before Herod, and making no reply. 11. The priest reads the gospel wherein Jesus Christ is sent from Herod to Pilate. The gospel is carried from the right side of the altar to the left, to denote the tender of the gospel to the Gentiles, after refusal by the Jews. 12. The priest uncovers the chalice, hereby to represent our Lord was stripped in

order to be scourged. 13. The oblation of the host, the creed is sung by the congregation. The priest then kisses the altar, then the priest offers up the host, which is to represent or import the scourging of Jesus Christ, which was introductory to his other sufferings. 14. The priest elevates the chalice, then covers it. Here Jesus's being crowned with thorns is supposed to be figured to the mind, shewing that he was going to be elevated a victim; and it is well known the victims of the Pagans were crowned before they were sacrificed to their idols.* 15. The priest washes his fingers, as Pilate washed his hands, declares Jesus innocent, blesses the bread and the wine, blesses the

* If we were ignorant of the motive, we might be inclined to smile at the folly of republishing such books as Doctor Middleton's *Letter from Rome*. If it be true that "comparisons are odious," what should the lovers of toleration and religious union think of such publications as this *Letter from Rome*, and its kindred work, Bishop Lavington's *Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared?* I have been led to this remark by the circumstance of a republication of Middleton's *Letter* this very year (1812), with "Additional proofs and illustrations, by PUBLICOLA." Proofs and illustrations of what? That the rites and doctrines of popery are of pagan origin. Let Publicola carry this idea to its full extent, and let him seriously consult, in his ignoble comparisons, the *Indian Antiquities* of Mr. Maurice; and then let him, if he have courage so to do, tell us what he thinks of the doctrine of the holy and *undivided* Trinity! I will not, I am sure, dispute the validity of his, or even of Dr. Middleton's, conclusions;

frankincense, and perfumes the bread and wine, praying that the smell of this sacrifice may be more acceptable to him than the smoke of victims. 16. The priest turning to the people, says, *Orate, Fratres*, i. e. let us pray. He then bows himself to the altar, addresses himself to the Trinity, and prays in a very low voice. This is one of the secretums of the mass, and the imagination of the devout Christian is to find out the conformity between this and Christ being cloathed with a purple robe; but we shall

sions; for I fear a rigid investigation into the origin and grounds of many doctrines, adopted by, not peculiar to, the Roman Catholics, would lead us much beyond the age of popery. But it is curious to observe, to what a chaos of comparisons the enemies of catholicism have reduced their reasonings: One "reverend and learned" Doctor of Divinity, tells us that popery is paganism; another, still more learned, and *right* reverend Doctor and Bishop, tells us that popery and methodism are the same! Perhaps, Publicola thinks there is less danger to the "*Protestant Cause*," as it is emphatically, but ludicrously, called, from the mixture of methodism and popery, than from that of popery and paganism, or he would favour us with a republication of Bp. Lavington's work; for that also is out of print; and the "Hints" of "a Barrister" might furnish him with many "additional Proofs and Illustrations." What the writer of the present sheets thinks of this disgraceful publication of Bp. Lavington's, the reader will find in the Preface to the Portraiture of Methodism. It was once a common saying, that "popery is rather to be chosen than presbytery; and that it is better

be cautious of adding more on this head, that we may not lose ourselves in the boundless ocean of allusions. 17. The priest says the preface at the close of the *Secretum*. This part of the mass is in affinity to Jesus Christ being condemned to be crucified. The priest uses a prayer to God the Father, which is followed by the *Sanctus*, holy, holy, holy is the Lord, &c. which the people sing. 18. The priest joining his hands, prays for the faithful that are living. This is said to be in allusion to Jesus Christ bearing the cross to die upon, that we might live. 19. The priest covers with a cloth the host and chalice, St. Veronica offering her handkerchief to Jesus Christ. 20. The priest makes the sign of the cross upon the host and chalice,

better to be a papist than a presbyter." See De Laune's "Plea for the Non-Conformists," p. 95. (1720). Those enemies to the claims of the Catholics who ground their arguments on the persecutions of former times, will do well to consult the "*Narrative of the Sufferings of Thomas De Laune*, for printing and publishing a late book, called, "A Plea for the Non-Conformists," &c. It is a curious fact, that the "libel," as it was called, for which poor De Laune was made to suffer so very severely, consisted in comparing the Church of England to that of Rome, a parallel which he supported with quite as much consistency as did the two "learned and reverend" gentlemen whose works are quoted in this note, their pagan and methodist comparisons. Some have said popery is like socinianism! It is like paganism, and methodism, and the Church of England, and socinianism; in short, what is it not like?

to signify that Jesus Christ is nailed to the cross.

21. The priest adores the host before elevated, and then he raises it up, in the best manner, to represent our Saviour lifted up upon the cross.

He repeats the Lord's prayer, with his arms extended, that his body might represent the figure of a cross, which is the ensign of Christianity.

22. The priest likewise consecrates the chalice, and elevates it, to represent the blood of Jesus Christ shed upon the cross.

23. The priest says the *Memento* for the faithful that are in purgatory.

This prayer is in allusion to that which our Lord made for his enemies; but this allusion would be forced and unnatural, unless the devotees looked upon themselves as his enemies.

24. The priest then raises his voice, smiting his breast, begs God's blessing on himself and congregation, for the sake of such saints as he enumerates, and implores the divine Majesty for a place in paradise, to imitate the thief upon the cross.

25. The priest elevates the host and cup, and says the *per omnia*, then the Lord's prayer. The sign of the cross, which he makes on the host, the chalice, and the altar, is to represent to God that bleeding sacrifice which his Son offered up to him of himself;

then the devout Christian becomes the child of God, and all this is an allusion to the Virgin Mary's being bid to look on St. John as her son.

26. After the Lord's prayer, the priest says a private one to God, to procure his peace by the mediation of the Virgin Mary and the saints, then puts the sacred host upon the paten, and

breaks it, to represent Jesus Christ giving up the ghost. 27. The priest puts a little bit of the host into the chalice. The true Christian is now with an eye of faith to behold Jesus Christ descending into *Limbo*, i. e. hell. 28. Then the priest says, and the people sing, *Agnus Dei*, &c. thrice over, and the priest smites his breast. This action is an allusion to those who, having seen our Lord's sufferings, returned home smiting their breasts. 29. After the *Agnus Dei* is sung, the priest says a private prayer for the peace of the church. He then kisses the altar, and the instrument of peace called the paxis, which being received at his hands by the deacon, it is handed about to the people to be kissed, and passed from each other with these words, *peace be with you*; and, whilst the paxis is kissing, the priest prepares himself for the communion by two other prayers, when he adores the host, and then says, with a low voice, *I will eat of the celestial bread*; and smiting his breast, says, *I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter into my house*, three times after eating of the bread. He uncovers the chalice, repeating vers. i. of the 115th psalm, according to the Vulgate. When the priest has received the communion, he administers it to the people. The application of these ceremonies is to the death and burial of Jesus Christ, and his descent into hell. 30. After this, the priest, putting the wine into the chalice, in order to take what is called the ablution, repeats a short prayer; then he causes wine and

water to be poured out for the second ablution, accompanied with another short prayer, and then salutes the congregation. These ablutions allegorically represent the washing and embalming the body of Jesus Christ, &c. 31. The priest sings the post communion, or prayer for a good effect of the sacrament then received, expressed by the glorious resurrection of the regenerate Christians, and is to be looked upon as the representation of our Lord's resurrection. 32. The priest, turning to the people, says, *Dominus vobiscum*, salutes the congregation, as the ambassador of Christ, with the message of peace. 33. The priest reads the beginning of St. John's gospel, and particularly of Jesus's appearing to his mother and disciples, and uses some short prayers. 34. The priest dismisses the people with these words, *Ite, missa est*, depart, the mass is concluded: to which they answer, God be thanked. This, they say, points to the ascension of Jesus Christ, where he receives the eternal reward of that sacrifice, both as priest and victim. 35. The people receive the benediction of the priest or bishop, if he is present, to represent the blessings promised, and poured down upon the apostles by the Holy Ghost.

This benediction must be given after kissing, with eyes erected to heaven, and their arms stretched out, and then gently brought back to the stomach, that the hands may join in an

affectionate manner, for the congregation of the faithful. The extension of the arms, and joining of the hands, are both mysterious, and shew the charity with which the priest calls his spiritual brethren to God. When he pronounces the benediction, he must lean in an engaging posture towards the altar, as prescribed by the Italian symbolical authors, viz. Piscara, Baudry, and others.*

The general division of masses is into *high* and *low*. *High mass*, called also *grand mass*, is that sung by the choristers, and celebrated with the assistance of a deacon and subdeacon. *Low mass*, is that wherein the prayers are barely rehearsed, without any singing, and performed without much ceremony, or the assistance of a deacon and subdeacon.

There are several sorts of solemn masses; such are the collegiate, the pontifical, those celebrated before the Pope, cardinals, or bishops, at Christmas, passion week, &c.

When High Mass is performed episcopally, or by a bishop, it is attended with more ceremony and magnificence. As soon as the bishop is observed to come in sight, the bells are rung;

* Picart's Religious Ceremonies, vol. i.

on his setting his foot within the church-doors, the organs begin to play. A person is appointed to give the sprinkler to the head canon, who presents it, after he has kissed both that and his sacred hand. His lordship sprinkles himself, and then the canons, with it, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and then goes and says a prayer before the altar, on which stands the holy sacrament, at a desk prepared for that particular purpose, and does the same at the high altar; from whence he withdraws into the vestry, and there puts on his peculiar ornaments, in the following order: The subdeacon goes to a little closet contiguous to the altar, and takes from thence the episcopal sandals and stockings, which he elevates and presents to the bishop. Then the deacon kneels down, and pulls off his lordship's shoes and stockings, who is in the midst of seven or eight acolites, or readers, all upon their knees, as well as the deacon, in their respective habits, who spreads the prelate's robes. Two acolites, after they have washed their hands, take the sacred habiliments, hold them up, and give them to the two deacon assistants, to put upon the bishop as soon as he has washed his hands. The deacon salutes the bishop, takes off his upper garment, and puts on his *amiot*, the cross whereof he kisses; then they give him the albe, the girdle, the cross for his breast, the stole, and the pluvial. He kisses the cross upon re-

ceiving each of them, thereby to testify his veneration of the cross ; the deacons and assistants likewise kiss these sacred vestments. As soon as the bishop is seated, they put his mitre on, and a priest presents him with the pastoral ring. The deacon gives him his right glove, and the subdeacon his left, which each of them kiss, as also the hand they have the honour to serve in all these circumstances. There are some ceremonies to be observed, which those who are fond of mysteries may endeavour to account for, but should not ridicule. It is more material to acquaint the reader, that ejaculatory prayers have been adapted to each individual piece of the episcopal robes, and that the devotion of this ceremony is supported and confirmed by the singing the office of tierce.*

The bishop being thus drest in all his habilliments,† his clergy range themselves round about

* Prayers intended to return God thanks for the sanctification of his church by the Holy Ghost.

† Each of these have a mysterious significance ; the *stole* represents the yoke of the gospel ; the *shoes* being taken off, alludes to Moses putting off his shoes ; the *Dalmatica* is to represent to the deacon that he must be crucified to the world : the *alk* denotes the purity of the priest's soul ; the *pastoral ring* implies the priest's spiritual marriage with the church ; his *gloves* are to denote that he is insensible of his good works ; the *girdle*, that he will be girded with justice and virtue ; the *sandals*, that he is to walk in the paths of the Lord ; the horns of the *mitre*, the Old and New Testament ;
the

him. Two deacons, who are canons, place themselves on each side of him, both in their dalmaticas; and after them, a deacon and sub-deacon. Then the incense-bearer, with the censer, and a priest, with the navet, out of which

the shepherd's *crook*, his correction and paternal authority; the *pluvial*, which was formerly used by travellers, to represent the miseries of this life, and thus the bishop is to become a living image of the true Christian. This account is given by Casalius; but to shew us the propriety and reality of these characters, requires some farther explanation and proof. *Picart's Ceremonies*, vol. i. p. 335.

The Rev. Peter Gaudolphy, in the preface to his edition of the Liturgy, has explained the use and signification of most of the vestments worn by the Catholic clergy, which appear so uncouth and strange to Protestants of the present day. "It is the duty," says he, "of every one to seek and learn the signification of the ceremonies of religion, although it must be admitted that it is often difficult to discover it, obscured as they are in the mist of antiquity.—Composed for the edification of the faithful, they were mostly intended to bear a mystical signification, though convenience and propriety also, often dictated the adoption of some. Thus the praying with uplifted hands, in imitation of Moses, mystically expresses the elevation of our thoughts to God. St. Paul also gives a mystical reason for the custom of men praying uncovered in churches—and even to many of those ceremonies which propriety introduced, the Church has added a spiritual sense.—Thus the altars in our churches, are always raised above the level of the pavement, that the people may more easily observe the mysteries, as they are celebrated; yet in this the Church proposes to herself a meaning of the mystical kind; which is, that they are the altars of *mediation* between heaven and earth

"In the same manner the sacred vestments, such as the Chasuble

the bishop takes incense, puts it into the censer, and gives it his benediction. After this he kisses the cross, which is upon the vestry altar, and

Chasuble—Dalmatic,* the Cope,† the Stole,‡ Maniple,§ Amice,|| Alb,¶ Girdle,** &c. originally common garments, were in universal use when first introduced into the offices of the Christian religion. But abandoned by fashion, the Church soon affixed to them a mystical signification, and piously assimilated them to the virtues in which the Christian soul is ever supposed to be arrayed. The Amice or Head-cloth, for instance, was compared to the protecting helmet of spiritual grace and salvation (Ephes. vi. 17.);—the long Alb, or white linen garment, of future glory and immortality (Apoc. vii. 9.);—The Maniple to be an emblem of persecutions and sufferings for Christ (Matt. xvi. 24.);—and the Chasuble, Dalmatic, &c. to express the yoke and burthen of the gospel.”

‘ This dangerous system, of spiritualizing the most common subjects

* The *Chasuble* and *Dalmatic* were coloured dresses, corresponding in shape to the *Frock* worn by our labouring peasants: convenience has taught us to leave the seams unsewed at the sides.

† The *Cope* is an exact pattern of our modern trooper's cloak.

‡ The *Stole* was a smaller cloak, more resembling a tippet or Spanish mantle, which the scissors have gradually narrowed to its present shape.

§ The *Maniple* was originally a cloth hanging from the left arm, to wipe the face.

|| The *Amice* was a cloth tied over the head; used, perhaps, for warmth, and so placed that it might be drawn back upon the neck and shoulders at pleasure.

¶ The *Alb* was the universal under-garment of all ranks, full, and reaching down to the heels; and is still the common dress of the Asiatics.

** The *Girdle* was a cord necessary to confine it close to the body.—The *Surplice*, in Latin *Superpelliceum*, was a short loose white dress, and so called because occasionally worn over a dress made of the fur and hair of animals.

then goes in procession to the other altar, where he is to celebrate the mass. The incense-bearer walks at the head of the procession; two wax-candle bearers, with lighted tapers in their hands, march next on each side of him who bears the cross; all the clergy follow them; the subdeacon who is to sing the epistle, carries before his breast the New Testament, shut, with the bishop's maniple in it; a deacon and priest march just before the bishop; the bishop carrying his shepherd's crook in his left hand, to dispense his blessings to those good Christians he passes in the way. The bishop being advanced to the altar, bows himself once to the clergy, and when he enters on the first step of the altar, delivers his crook to the subdeacon, and the deacon takes off the mitre; then the prelate and clergy bow to the altar, or rather to the cross on the altar; after which the clergy withdraw, except two priests' assistants, one on his right, and the other on his left hand, with the incense-bearer, the subdeacon, and two deacons assistants, and then the ceremony of the mass service begins with the *Confiteor*,* &c., and the choir sings the introite.†

subjects and things, was formerly carried to an enormous extent; and, finally, begat, in the minds of the vulgar, those superstitious notions concerning the sanctity of "holy things" for which the Catholics have been so long distinguished.

* See Picart's Religious Cer. vol. i. p. 336.

† Offices, Vestments, and other Distinctions, see the Dict.

The solemn Mass, celebrated by the Pope, has much of magnificence and ceremony: I will describe a simple part.* A pontifical solemn mass principally differs in two respects, always observed when his holiness himself officiates. The first is this, the two gospels are sung, one in Greek, and the other in Latin; the second, that the communion is different in the papal mass, and performed after the following manner: after the *Agnus Dei* is sung, his holiness goes to his throne; the cardinal deacon of the gospel stands in such a manner on the epistle side, with his hands closed together, that he cannot only see the sacrament on the altar, but the Pope likewise going to his throne. When his holiness is seated, the deacon goes and takes the consecrated host upon the paten, covered with a veil, and, turning to the people, elevates it three times successively, that is to say, in the middle and at each end of the altar. After that, he gives it to the subdeacon, who carries it to his holiness; in the mean time, the same deacon takes the chalice, in which is the consecrated wine, and having elevated it three times as he did the water before, carries it to the Pope, who adore Jesus Christ under both kinds, as soon as they are brought to him, which he performs with a moderately low bow of half his body, in a standing

* Apion's Account, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, and Picart's *Cer.* vol. i. p. 839.

posture; and when the deacon, and subdeacon, are come close to him, they place themselves one on his right hand, and the other on his left hand; his holiness takes the large host which is upon the paten, and communicates, putting it into his mouth: he then gives two small ones to the deacon and subdeacon, who are kneeling, and kisses hand before they receive them. The deacon, however, still holds the chalice, till the assistant cardinal bishop, dressed in his cope, comes up to the pontifical throne, when the Pope's vestry-keeper presents him with a small gold pipe, one end whereof he dips into the chalice, and his holiness at the same time takes hold of the other, and inclining his head a little, sucks up a part of the consecrated wine, leaving the rest to the deacon, who carries the chalice to the altar, and there sucks up a part of it, and leaves a little for the subdeacon, who drinks it without the pipe, as also that which is poured out for the ablution of the chalice, which he wipes with the purificatory, or white linen cloth: in the mean time His Holiness gives the kiss of peace only to the deacon, and the communion only under one kind to the other cardinals, ambassadors, princes, prelates, and sometimes to private persons, who have desired to receive that mark of honour from him, after which he returns to the altar, and goes through the mass with the usual ceremonies and solemnity.

We may here describe the peculiar ceremonies

attending high mass at Christmas, when His Holiness officiates, who, being dressed in all his pontifical ornaments (the most remarkable whereof on this occasion are the white pluvial and precious mitre) by the cardinal deacons already in their robes, blesses the incense presented to the thurifier; after that the pontiff is preceded by the Roman and other prelates, who all wear white mitres. On this occasion the incense-bearer, and seven acolytes, each with a wax-taper in his hands, walk before the cross-bearer, and a clerk of the chamber before the incense-bearer, who holds a sword lifted up, with a cap upon it, which is a representation perhaps of the irresistible power and efficacy of the pontifical sword, which Christ's vicar has inherited from St. Peter, with that of freeing Christians from the bondage of the devil, by a right acquired by the Son of God, whose nativity is then celebrated. It is considered likewise as an emblem of the Church's dignity and freedom under the government of the Pope. Many of the superior clergy make up this holy procession; and should any Catholic prince, happen to be at Rome at that time, he must carry the train of the Pope's mantle: two cardinals likewise hold up the two ends of it. His Holiness walks in a very stately and majestic manner, under a canopy supported by eight gentlemen of the first rank.

As soon as the Pope is got into the church,

he passes on to a chapel, and then sits down. The cardinals come and bow to him, and kiss the hem of the holy father's pluvial on the right side; then come the other prelates in order, and kiss his right knee. The Latin and Greek deacons, who assist His Holiness, stand in readiness at the altar. After some anthems are sung, a vestry-keeper puts on the arms of a Latin subdeacon, a small napkin, whereon are laid His Holiness's sandals and stockings. The subdeacon carries altogether to the Pope, with his hands held up to his eyes. The acolites follow him, and whilst the subdeacon and a gentleman of the privy chamber get under the Holy Father's pluvial, to put on his stockings and his sandals, the acolites take care to spread the borders of the pluvial whilst the subdeacon is putting them on. The assistant bishops who are present at this religious ceremony hold before His Holiness a book and a wax-taper, who, with his assistant deacons, sings an anthem and a psalm. The choir sing tierce, during which the Pope rises, and an assistant bishop goes up to him with the pontifical; two taper-bearers attend with lights in their hands. The pontiff takes off his mitre, which is done frequently in this ceremony, and puts it on again. Then an assistant bishop lays the pontifical on his own head, that His Holiness may read the office of the day, and another assistant supports the book in one hand, and holds a taper in the other: when the pontiff is seated again, and his mitre

put on; he is presented with some water to wash him. His Holiness having washed, the gospel deacon, assisted with two others, takes off his mitre, pluvial, and stole, in order to put on several other robes, which the acolites bring him from the altar, viz. the girdle, the breast-cross, the dalmatica, the tunic, the albe, the gloves, &c. all which must be devoutly kissed, and the *pallium*, the cross whereof His Holiness kisses. Lastly, they put the ring on his finger, called the pontifical ring. His Holiness thus equipped, and followed by two auditors, holding up the corners of the pluvial, humbly proceeds to the *Confiteor* before the steps of the altar, and the three youngest cardinal priests advance to kiss the Holy Father's mouth and his breast. Then the gospel deacon censures His Holiness, and His Holiness the altar, and then the ceremony of the service begins; during which there is the ceremony of delivering to the Pope a purse with twenty-five julio's in it of ancient money; and the subdeacons and the master of the ceremonies kiss the Pope's feet, with some other insignificant ceremonies.

Of the Devotion of Catholics to the Virgin Mary.

—1. It is, they say, grounded upon her great dignity as mother of God, and the close relation which she has thereby to Jesus Christ her son; for how is it possible, they add, to love and honour Christ with our whole heart, and not value and love his mother?—2. It is grounded upon

that supereminent grace, which was bestowed upon her, to prepare her for that dignity ; upon account of which she was saluted by the angel Gabriel, St. Luke, i. 28, full of *grace*, and by St. Elizabeth she is stiled *blessed among women*, Luke i. 42.—3. It is grounded upon her extraordinary sanctity ; for if she was *full of grace* before she conceived in the womb the fountain of all grace, to what a degree of sanctity and grace must she have arrived, during so many years as she lived afterwards ? especially since she bore nine months in her womb the author of all sanctity, and had him thirty years under her roof, ever contemplating him and his heavenly mysteries, St. Luke ii. 19 and 51. and on her part never making any resistance to the affluence of his grace ever flowing in upon her happy soul.—4. It is grounded upon that supereminent degree of heavenly glory with which God has now honoured her, in proportion to her grace and sanctity here upon earth, and the great interest she has with her blessed Son, and through him with his heavenly Father.*

Of the Use of Beads, the Rosary, &c.—Q. Why do Catholics so often repeat the *Hail Mary*?—A. To commemorate the incarnation of the Son of God ; to honour his blessed mother, and to desire her prayers.

* Catholic Instructed, p. 235.

Q. What is the meaning of the *Beads*?—**A.** It is a devotion, consisting of a certain number of *our fathers* and *hail Maries*, directed for the obtaining of blessings from God, through the prayers and intercession of our Lady.

Q. But is it not highly absurd, that, according to the common way of saying the beads, there are repeated ten *hail Maries* for one *our father*?

—**A.** It would be absurd indeed, and blasphemous too, if the meaning of this were to signify that the blessed Virgin is either more powerful or more merciful than her son, or that we have a greater confidence in her than in him; but we are far from any such notions.

Q. Why then is the *hail Mary* repeated so much oftener in the beads than the Lord's prayer?—**A.** Because the beads being a devotion particularly instituted to commemorate the incarnation of Christ, and to honour him in his blessed mother, it was thought proper to repeat so much the oftener that prayer, which is particularly adapted to these ends. In the meantime, it may be proper to take notice, 1. That if in the beads there be ten *hail Maries* said for one *our father*, in the mass and office of the Church, almost all the prayers are directed to God alone. 2. That every *hail Mary*, both by the nature of the prayer, and the intention of the Church, is directed more to the honour of the son than of the mother, as well because the Church, in ho-

nouring the mother, has principally in view the honour of the son, as also because this prayer particularly relates to the incarnation of Christ; and if withal it begs her prayers, then she is only desired to pray for us.

Q. What is the meaning of the *Rosary*?—**A.** The rosary is a method of saying the beads, so as to meditate upon the incarnation, passion and resurrection of Christ; and it is divided into three parts, each part consisting of five mysteries, to be contemplated during the repeating of five decads or tens upon the beads. The first five are called the five joyful mysteries, viz. the Annunciation, when our Lord was conceived in his mother's womb; the visitation, when the blessed Virgin visited her kinswoman St. Elizabeth, and by her was declared *blessed among women*, &c.; the nativity of our Lord, his presentment in the temple, together with the purification of the blessed Virgin, and his being found in the temple in the midst of the doctors, &c. The five next are called the dolorous and sorrowful mysteries, as having relation to the passion of Christ, and are, his prayer and agony in the garden, his being scourged at the pillar, his crowning with thorns, his carriage of his cross, and his crucifixion and death. The five last are called the five glorious mysteries, viz. the resurrection of our Lord, his ascension into heaven, the coming of the Holy Ghost, the assumption of the blessed Virgin, and her coagmenation, to,

gether with the eternal glory of the saints in the kingdom of heaven.*

Of the Invocation of Angels and Saints.—Q. What is the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, with regard to the invocation of angels and saints?—A. We hold it to be pious and profitable to apply ourselves to them in the way of desiring them to pray to God for us; but not so as to address ourselves to them as if they were the authors or disposers of pardon, grace, or salvation, or as if they had any power to help us independently of God's good will and pleasure.

Q. But, in some of the addresses made to the saints and angels, I find petitions for mercy, aid, or defence; what say you?—A. The meaning of those addresses, as far as they are authorized by the Church, is no other than to beg mercy of the saints in this sense, that they would pity and compassionate our misery, and would pray for us. In like manner, when we beg their aid and defence, we mean to beg the aid and defence of their prayers; and that the angels to whom God has given a charge over us, would assist us and defend us against the angels of darkness; and this is no more

* Catholic Christian instructed, page 254, *et seq.*

than what the Protestant Church asks in the collect for Michaelmas day, praying that as the holy angels always serve God in heaven, so by his appointment they may succour and defend us upon earth.*

Of the Use and Veneration of Relicks in the Catholic Church.—Q. What do you mean by relicks?—A. The dead bodies or bones of the saints we call relicks; as also whatever other things have belonged to them in their mortal life.

Q. And what is the doctrine and practice of the Church with regard to these things?—A. We keep such things as these with a religious respect and veneration, for the sake of those to whom they have belonged, but principally for the sake of him to whom the saints themselves belonged; that is, for the greater glory of God, who is glorious in his saints, and to whom is referred all the honour that is given to his saints.

Q. What reason has the Church for shewing this respect to the dead bodies or bones of the saints?—A. 1. Because they have been the victims, and the living temples of God, in which His Divine Majesty has, in a particular manner, inhabited, and which he has sanctified by his presence and grace; and, therefore, if God

* Catholic Christian, page 224.

required of Moses, Exod. iii. 5. and of Joshua, Josh. v. 15. to loose their shoes from off their feet, in respect to the ground on which they stood; as being rendered holy by his presence, or that of his angels, we must think that it is agreeable to His Divine Majesty, that we should testify the like honour to that venerable earth of the bodies of his saints, which he in such an extraordinary manner has sanctified, by abiding in them as in his temples. 2. We know the bodies of the saints are pre-ordained to a happy resurrection and eternal glory, and upon this account also deserve our respect. 3. The bodies and other relicks of the saints have been and are daily the instruments of the power of God for the working of innumerable miracles; which God, who is truth and sanctity itself, would never have effected, if it had not been agreeable to him that we should honour and respect these precious remnants of his servants. 4. The relicks and shrines of the martyrs and other saints serve very much to encourage the faithful to an imitation of their virtues, and to help to raise their souls from the love of things present and temporal to the love of things eternal."*

The following account of the offices of Cardinals, Deacons, &c. is extracted from a very old work, bearing every mark of authenticity and correctness. It will afford considerable inform-

* Catholic Christian, &c.

ation to the curious inquirer on this subject. Strictly speaking, the present dignity of the Cardinals is not absolutely essential to the religion of Roman Catholics. It is a branch of discipline more immediately connected with the temporalities of the Church, and the regal character of the Pope, circumstances forming no essential portion of a pious Catholic's faith or worship.

“ *Of the Cardinalls, and their Originall.*—This word Cardinall, signifies no other, then *Presbyter principalis*; nam *altissimæ Cæti portæ vocantur cardines; vntique inde venientes appellantur cardinales. In Parochia in qua erant plures Clerici; qui cæteris præerant in ea parochia, & qui suberat Episcopo, appellabatur Presbyter Cardinalis, & istæ convertébantur, habebat curam animarum, et erat Presbyter Cardinalis.*

This word, as it is likely, was found out in the time of Pope Higinus, an hundred and fifty yeares after Christ, whereas many priests were placed in parishes, and degrees of them settled, whereupon the office being found, it was probable the name was then also found.

The first mention of the word Cardinall was in the time of Saint Silvester, three hundred yeares after Jesus Christ our Lord appeared, by the Synod held in Rome under Saint Silvester.

— This word Cardinall is at this day common to

three degrees ; to Priests, Deacons, and Bishops. At the first, as we see before, it was given to Priests only, whose office it was then in particular, to have a care of the buriall of the faithfull, whereunto the other Priests were not admitted, as is extant in Anastasius the Bibliothecarie, in the life of Pope Marcellus. As for the rest, the Priests were equall, in preaching, in administring the sacraments, (except baptisme, as I have already said), in assisting the Pope, in being employed as Legates ; and this before Constantine.

After Constantine, the Priest Cardinalls began to have I know not what kind of more prerogative above other Priests that were not Cardinals ;* so that leaving off that particular care of baptisme, and burialls, they onely went forth in legations, and of them above for the most part was the Pope made, having power over the Priests, and Clerks of their jurisdiction.

This continued sixe hundred yeares, untill Gregory the Seventh ; at which time, aswell by the Emperor, as of the rest of the clergy, and people from the election, the authority of the Cardinalls increased, for that they were they alone, which made the Pope, and commonly

* It is not now absolutely necessary that a Cardinal should be in holy orders prior to his election.

out of their own order. Now that they might maintain their dignity, the renew of their titles not being sufficient for many of them, they began to have *in commenda* simple benefices, canonships, archpresbyters, and the like.

When a Bishoprick was given to any of these, the dignity of Cardinall was void, as inferior to the other. Afterwards, when they were made Bishops, they demanded that by way of grace they might retain the nomination only, leaving the title of Priest, calling themselves *Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales*, without title, but *Cardinales Ecclesiæ Dei*. In the time of Pope Alexander the Third, after they were made Bishops, perceiving that to bee a Cardinall was a great importance for their attaining to the Papacie, and for their intervening in their election of the Pope, they began to retaine the title, as to be both Bishop of a place, and a Cardinall of Rome together, howbeit with this advertisement, that no Bishop was made a Cardinall, because it was reputed a descending in degree: but if the Cardinall was made a Bishop, he retained both the one and the other.

In processe of time, the Bishops beginning to desire to be Cardinalls, sought for means to make Cardinalls that were no Priests, but they were not able to do it untill Boniface the Eighth was Pope, when as the court went to Avignon, where every thing going to confusion, both

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, were made Cardinals; and Cardinals had Bishopricks, and Abbacies more than one, given them *in commendam*: upon this occasion too the Cardinals began to proceed Bishops, that were meere Bishops; and this precedencie began not absolutely, but in Avignon.

Of Deacons and Priests Cardinals.—Deacons Cardinals were anciently seven, like unto the seven Deacons which were instituted by the apostles; the chief of the Deacons was called Deacon-Cardinal, or Archdeacon, that signified asmuch in imitation of the Priests Cardinals, who were in title above the other Prelates, as appears in the synod of Saint Silvester.

These Deacons had care of the revenues of all the Churches, and the almes of the faithfull, providing for all the Priests, aswell Priests Cardinals, as others, and for the Pope also; and this unto the time of Constantine. But here is to be noted, that the sub-deacons had the care of receiving the revenues, and the Deacons of keeping and dispensing them, according as it was ordained.

In the time of Constantine, persecutions ceasing, those seven Deaconships not sufficing, Deacons for the service of every title were appointed in the parishes where there were Priests and Priests Cardinals, who had a care of the Popes,

that is, the Church of Rome's revenues; and those were called Deacon Cardinalls, untill the year a thousand, in the time of Pope Silvester, or thereabout.

At which time, the Deacons attending no longer on the revenue, whereof there was a new particular officer constituted, they were left only to the reading of the gospell before the Pope; in which time, because the number of the seven regionary Deacons were increased, for Rome was then divided into so many regions, and every one of them had the charge of reading the gospell in the church of his region, when as the Pope went to say Masse in either of their said churches; and they were called Cardinalls of the first, of the second, and of the third region, according as the region was named, whereof they were intituled Cardinalls.

The other four Deacons were called *Palatine* Cardinalls, in the Lateran, *Altaris Ministri*, because they read the gospell before the Pope in Saint John de Lateran.

These Deacons had their settled dwellings in Rome, neer to certain churches, or oratories, without cure of soules; from which churches leaving the name of regions, they began to have their denominations; that is, *Petrus Diaconus, Cardinalis sancti Adriani*, whereas they said before, *Regionis talis*, and this was five hundred

yeers agoe, or thereabouts, in the time of Paschall the Second.

The reputation of these grew up together, with that of the Priests Cardinalls, in regard they had all of them the name, and prerogative of a Cardinall, and assisted at the election of the Pope.

Of Bishops Cardinalls.—There are here to be noted, three things: the first, in regard to the translation from one Bishoprick to another, was anciently held inconvenient, for three hundred yeares space together, namely, to the yeare nine hundred, none that was a Bishop of another place, was ever chosen Pope of the Church of Rome, but one still that was either a Priest or a Deacon of the said Roman Church; and the reason thereof it may be was, because the Priests of Rome would have none elected but one of their owne number: the first that was otherwise elected was Formosus, Bishop of Porto, in the eight hundred nintie and one: whereupon arose many uproares for transgressing the ancient custome, as may be seen in the Platina.

The second, that a citty being once possess by the enemy, the Bishop thereof was admitted into some other Bishoprick that was void, with condition, that upon restitution to his owne church, he should returne to his flock, and be called the Priest or Bishop of that place, which

had been committed unto him : as if Fundi had been taken by the Turks, thus it would be said, *Petrus Episcopus Fundanus et Sacerdos, Cardinalis Ferracinens*. If so be the charge of the Bishoprick of Ferracina had been conferred on him, as appears in Saint Gregory, where there are foure or five examples of it.

The third, that in the consecration of the Pope, there were deputed seven Bishops, namely, Albanus, Ostiensis, Portuensis, Sanctæ Rufinæ, Tusculanus, Prenestinus, Sabinensis : And these, in the beginning, did not intervene in the election, but only in the consecration.

Foure hundred years after, or thereabout, in the time of Alexander the Third, they were admitted to the election, and then they began to be called Bishops Cardinalls, like unto the Priests and Deacons Cardinalls, which intervened in the Election of the Pope ; but before that, there was never any called Bishop Cardinall.

Of the Cardinalls Titles.—The titles of Priests Cardinalls, were of a determinate number, that is, eight and twenty, and those of the Deacons eighteen, as those of the Bishops seven. Now in Rome there were five churches built, which were called Patriarchall ; that is, Saint John de Lateran, representing the Pope ; Saint Peter, representing the Patriarch of Constantinople : Saint Paul, that of Alexandria, Sancta Maria

magiore, that of Antiochia, and Saint Laurence without the Walls, that of Jerusalem.

To the Ministers of the Lateran (for that it was the Cathedrall) were deputed the seven Bishops-Cardinals, to that of the others (because they were of lesse dignity) seven Priests Cardinals for each of them; and this number was settled for twelve hundred yeers, untill the time of Innocent the Second; before whom, Cardinals were not made many together, but one by one, as they came to be void.

Innocent the Second, finding divers Cardinalships void, began first to make many Cardinals together, which was continued untill about four hundred yeers since; at which time the number of Cardinals seeming to be too great, they began when Cardinals dyed, not to put others in their roomes, but to give them *in commendam* to other Cardinals, or leave the government of them to the Cardinals Archpriests; so that in processe of time it came to that passe, as no longer minding the antient number of fifty-three, they grew to be exceedingly diminished: howbeit, Pope Leo the Tenth not only restored them to the said number again, but it was by him, and Pope Paul the Third, and Pope Pius the Fourth exceeded, insomuch that the eight and twenty titles of the Priests Cardinals not sufficing, Pope Leo made thirteen, Pope Julian the Third three, and Pope Paul the Fourth one more.

Now it is to be noted, that before Pope Leo, they never exceeded the number of fifty and three.

It was an antient custome observed in the Church, for fourteen hundred yeers together, that no opposition was amongst the Cardinalls; for a Deacon made not himselfe a Priest, unless he lost his Deaconship, and then took upon him the title of Priest; and in like sort, if a Priest became a Bishop, he left the title of Priest, but continuing a Priest, he never changed his title, neither a Bishop his Bishoprick, nor a Deacon his Deaconship.

One of those actions sprang from the schisme of the Councill of Pisa, where the Cardinall yeelding to the one and the other obedience, some Cardinals of Avignon and Rome, being of the same Cardinallship, it was necessary that one of them should relinquish his, and for this they began afterwards to change, which hath been the ruine of the churches, where there were titles of Deaconships.

It was an antient custome, likewise, which lasted five hundred yeares, even to the time of Pope Sixtus Quartus, that a Deacon should have no title, nor a Priest a Deaconship, it being a thing repugnant to give the cure of soules to a Deacon, and to a Priest a Deaconship.

Pope Sixtus Quartus was the first that con-founded this Cardinallship, giving to Priests Deaconships, and titles to Deacons; and the matter went so farre forward, that there is not a title, which hath not had a Deacon: wherein yet is to be noted, that the Deacon, although he hath a title, as the Cardinall Montallo had of San Lorenzo in Domaso, yet hee useth not the name of title, as to say, Alexander Sancti Laurentii, and Damaso Diaconus Cardinalis, without mention of the title: and contrarily the Priest Cardinall, that hath a Deaconship, whereas he ought to speake of the title, not because it hath no title, yet he adjoynes it, as Jacobus Sabelus of the title, &c.

Of the Habit of the Cardinalls.—The Cardinalls, before Innocent the Fourth, untill the yeare a thousand, two hundred and fifty, went in the ordinary habit of a Priest, like to that of the Monks. Innocent the Fourth first of all added to it the red hatt; afterwards, in the time of Boniface the Ninth, they had the red and violet habit, in the same manner and forme as it is used at this day. Pope Paul the Second gave the myter of silke, the red cap, the red cloth for the mule, and guilt stirrups. Gregory the Fourteenth gave the red cap to the regular Cardinalls, going otherwaies apparelled in that colour, which those of the order, whereof they were then used, but of the same fashion and stuffe as the other Cardinalls went in; howbeit

they wore no rochets, nor cassock of cloth; and when they adorne themselves, instead of a rochet, they put on a coate with wide sleeves, and adorne themselves over that; the other Cardinalls, which are not regulars, put on the ammius over the rochet, which they weare ordinarily, and then their ornaments; in like manner the regular Cardinall ought to put on the ammitt over the coat. The shaven crowne is the common badge of all the clergymen; the manipule is the badge of the Subdeacon; the cross-stole of the Deacon; the planeta of the Priest; the myter of the Bishop; the pall of the Archbishop, of the Primate, and of the Patriarch; and the diadem of the Pope, which, for sixe hundred yeares together, was adorned with onely one crowne, but at the return of the Apostolick See from Avignon to Rome, the Popes began to weare the triple crowne.

Of the Creation of the Cardinalls.—The Pope doth use to make Cardinalls two severall waies; the first is this: Those persons which are abiding in Rome, whom his Holinesse purposeth to promote, have notice given them thereof over night, by the Cardinall Nephewes, whereupon, the next morning, they repaire to the palace at the usuall houre.

The Pope, when as the secret consistory is shut up, pronounceth the Cardinalls, whom he intends to make; and in the same consistory

causes them to bee called in, where, kneeling downe at his Holines feet, the Pope puts the red hatt on his head, and making the sign of the cross on it, hee sayes to him, *Esto Cardinalis*, and weare this red hatt, as a signe, that thou wilt, without feare, expose thyself even to death, and the effusion of thy dearest bloud, for the exaltation of the holy faith, for the peace and quiet of Christian people, and augmenting the state of the holy Roman Church; in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, *Amen*. Then the new Cardinal takes off the hatt from his head, and kisseth his Holinesse feet.

The second way is this. In the secret consistory, the Pope pronounceth in order of dignitie the Cardinalls which he hath made, and then gives a list of them to the Cardinal Nephewe, who sends his Master of the Chamber with his owne coach to fetch those persons which are promoted, from out of such parts of the city as they live in, and bring them to his Eminencies lodgings. There they have their crowns shaven, and are attyred in purple like Cardinalls; the garments wherewith they were apparrelled before are the vailes of the Cardinall Nephewes adjutant of the Chamber; and the Cardinall Nephewes Barber that shaved their crownes, receives from them five and twenty duckets for his fee. After dinner the same Cardinal having feasted the new Cardinalls, conducts them to his Holiness, before whose feet, kneeling on their knees, they put the red

hatt put upon their heads, in the manner before declared ; and after many words of humility, and thanks, they depart away ; and so goe all in the habit of a Cardinall together to visit his Holinesse kinsfolks, as well men as women, continuing afterwards in their houses untill the publique Consistory, alwaies cloathed in purple till the day of the said Consistory, though it bee *extra tempora*, and giving audience to every one that comes to visit them. Now all the time before the publique Consistory, the new Cardinall ought not to accompany any one, and if he does so, he does ill ; for albeit Cardinalls come to visit him, he cannot, nor ought not, to accompany them farther then the chamber doore, where hee received the visit : But the ancient good rule was, that the Cardinalls did not visit the new Cardinalls before the publique Consistory ; and if they chanced to doe it, by occasion of kindred, as otherwaies, they went to them by night, and were not seene.

Of those that are made Cardinalls, being absent from Rome.—He, who in his Holinesse name is advertised, that he is created a Cardinall, must presently cause a shaven crowne to be made him, and attyre himselfe as a Cardinall, but in purple ; for he may not use red, until he have received the hatt sent unto him by the Pope : and from that time he is to be called Cardinall, and so he may subscribe himselfe.

The red hatt is alwaies carried by one of the Popes Chamberlaines, accompanied with his Holinesse brieve, for which the new Cardinall pays an hundred duckets to the Chamber. Now the ceremonie of conferring the hatt upon him, is performed, where there is no nuntio by the Emperor, the King, the Archbishop, or Bishop, of the place.

The newes of the Cardinalship, before the hatt is brought, together with the Popes, or one of his Nephewes letters, is carried by a courier, unto whom a good reward is given, as also to the Chamberlaine that brings the hatt, there is a great reward also given, which usually, from them who are present in Rome at their promotion, is at least five hundred duckats, and from them which receive the hat out of Rome, a thousand duckats, with three hundred more at the publick consistory, when they are confirmed in their dignity; which reward is divided amongst the secret participant chamberlaines; and to the chamberlain that carried the hatt, belongs an equall share, although he be none of the participants. Of the rewards given to the courier are three parts made, one to the Cardinal Nephewes secretary, one to the Master General of the Posts, and the third to the courier himselfe, the expence of the voyage being first deducted out of it.

The Cardinal which goes to Rome to take

the hatt, is to goe in the travelling habit of a Cardinall, but of purple colour, and on his head an ordinary hatt, with a gold band, and faced with red silk: being arrived at Rome, he will be met with the Caroches, which the Cardinalls send, and in particular with the Cardinall Nephews, wherein he shall be conducted to the apostolical palace, and being come to the said Cardinall Nephews lodgings, he must complement with his Eminencie, and then by his Barber, he must have the Cardinals shaven crowne made on his head, and putting off his travelling habit, he must put on a long robe with a rochet, and so he must be conducted by his Eminency to the Pope, upon the sight of whom, the new Cardinall must kneel down before him, and then after other bowings of himselfe, he must goe and kiss his Holinesse feet, and hand; that done, having been admitted *ad osculum*, used many words of thankfulness for the dignity of a Cardinall conferred on him, and taken leave of his Holinesse, he must accompany the Cardinall Nephew to his lodgings, where he must complement him anew, and from thence he must goe and visit the Popes kinsfolks, who most commonly dwell in places remote from his palace.

Having performed all this, he must repair to his owne house, out of which he may not stir till his Holinesse give him a public consistory; howbeit, he may in the mean time receive visits,

but privately without going forth of his chamber, and without accompanying the visitors, let them be what they will, as is delivered before.

On the day of the public consistory, the accustomed pomp of the solemne riding is used, and the new Cardinall, if he be an Archbishop or Bishop, wears on his head a black Pontifical hatt, faced with green; but if he were before only a Priest, a Prelate, or of the short robe, he must wear a hatt in the same manner, but faced with black, and must go attired in red, if the day doe permit it; and his cloake must be of rated grogeram, being accompanied with all the Cardinalls, and so he goes to receive the red hat from the hands of his Holinesse: In which solemnities many ceremonies occurre, but one cannot erre therein, because all is guided by the masters of the ceremonies.

The same day, the Popes Cardinall Nephew feasts the new Cardinall; he is afterwards to visit the whole sacred College with all his train; and in his habit, beginning at the Deacon Cardinall, and then the rest one after another, without order: and in the same habit he is to receive, and render the visits of, and to the ambassadors of kings, and princes, and other great personages.

In the first secret consistory, after the public consistory, the Pope performs the ceremony of

shutting up the new Cardinalls mouth, his Holinesse speaking and praying, and the new Cardinall not saying a word. This shutting up of the mouth, deprives the new Cardinall of his active and passive voice.

In the second consistory, his Holinesse opens his mouth, declares his title unto him, and espouses him with a gold ring, that hath a saphire set in it, for which in times past, the Cardinalls heir (in case he dyed) paid five hundred duckats in the chamber: Pope Gregory the Thirteenth gave this fee of the ring to the German Colledge of Rome, but afterwards Pope Sixtus Quintus took it from thence, and by Gregory the Fifteenth it was assigned to the sacred Colledge *de propaganda fide*, and it was by a Pontificall Bull ordained, that it should be alwaies done by every Cardinall from the very day of his promotion.

Any one that shall be made a Cardinall, and before his coming to Rome shall be declared a legat; he may exercise his legatship, if his Holinesse pleasure be not otherwise, untill he hath first the hat: and in that case the Pope useth to send it unto him with a brieve: afterwards, when that legation is finished, and that the same Cardinall comes to Rome, he is at any hand to have a publique consistory granted to him, together with the wonted solemn riding. Every Cardinall hath the hatt, which his holiness puts on his head, brought home to him to his house

by a secret Chamberlain, in a silver and gilt bason, that is carried by the Pope's cupboard-keeper, unto whom is used to be given a reward of five and twenty crowns of gold.

Besides these, the new Cardinall is to give the rewards which are mentioned hereafter.

Every Cardinall passeth the bull of his Cardinalship, which being subscribed by the Pope, and all the Cardinalls present in Rome, the usuall seal of lead is put to it, and sometimes one of gold."

" *Of the Congregations of Cardinalls, and first of the Congregation of the Holy Office.*—There are many, and divers congregations of Cardinalls, whereof the congregation of the holy office is one, which assembles twice a week; on Wednesday in the convent of the Dommicant *alla Minerva*; and on Thursday before the Pope, concerning causes, and matters of the Inquisition, and other heresie; where many Cardinalls intervene, at the least twelve, or more, as are by his Holinesse deputed; together with a good number of Prelates, and other divines, religious orders, all of them of the title of Consultors of the Holy Office; the seale whereof is kept by an eminent Cardinall, who hath a palace, with a prison, and many officers and ministers; amongst whom is the Commissarie, which office alwaies belongs to the fathers of the order of St. Domi-

nick; and the assessors, a Prelate, or one of his Holinesses chamberlaines of honour, whose care it is to report the causes in the congregations.

Of the Congregation concerning the Affaires of Bishops and Regulars.—There is the congregation concerning the affaires of Bishops, and Regulars; whose jurisdiction is over the differences which arise betweene Bishops and their subjects; and also amongst Regulars; and likewise in providing for the occurrences of Bishops, which have need of consultation. The head thereof is an eminent Cardinall, in whose house it is held every weeke upon Fryday.

Of the Congregation of the Councell.—There is the Congregation of the Councell, whose jurisdiction is to interpret the text of the sacred Councell of Trent. It is held in the house of the oldest Cardinall, who is head thereof, but another eminent Cardinall keepes the seale. And it is held once every weeke, either on Sunday, or three dayes *ad libitum* of the Cardinall-head.

Of the Congregation of the Ecclesiastical Immunitie.—For that delinquents in many, and sundry causes enjoyed not the ecclesiasticall immunitie; and because the judgement thereabout was through the diversity, and mixture of offences oftentimes rendered very doubtfull, Pope Urbane the Eight instituted and erected the sa-

ored congregation of the ecclesiastical immunities which useth to be held on Tuesdayes in the ancientest Cardinalls house. Many Cardinalls are there present, as also an Auditor *della Ruota*, a Clerke of the Chamber, a voter of the signature, and the secretary, that usually is a referendarie, both of the one and of the other signature, together with the Cardinall Prefect thereof, who keepes the seale, and hath the entertainment of a thousand crownes a yeare from the Cardinall.

Of the Congregation of State.—The Congregation of State useth to be held sometimes before his Holiness, and sometimes before the Cardinall Nephew of the Pope living, and therein doe usually sit all the Cardinalls, which have been apostolical nuntions, together with his Holiness Secretary of State.

Of the Congregation for the propagating of the Faith.—The Congregation abovesaid was erected by Gregory the Fifteenth, for the finding out of all waies, and meanes of propagating the Catholique Faith in all parts of the world; and of what was most conducing to the utility of a businesse of that importance. It useth to be held once a moneth, before the Pope, on a Munday, and oftentimes in the palace of the colledge, surnamed *de propaganda fide*. In it do many Cardinalls sit, as also an Apostolicall Pronotarie, his Holiness Secretary of State, the Judge, who usually

is a referendary both of one and the other signature, the assessor of the holy office; and the Secretary of the same congregation. There is now a palace building, of no ordinary greatness, in the piatza of the most holy Trinity de Monti, for the receiving all those which being converted to the Catholique Faith, come to visit the holy place of Rome; as also of many poore Bishops and Priests; who are all supplied with things necessary for their dyet and lodging: It maintains a printing-house for all sorts of strange languages, where continually are printed missalls, breviaries, and other kind of books appertaining to the Catholique Faith, which are sent into those parts where there is need of them. Cardinall Antonio Barberino is at the present prefect of this congregation.

Of the Congregation of Rites.—There is the congregation of rites, whose jurisdiction is about the differences arising concerning rites, ceremonies, precedencies, canonizations of Saints, and the like; whereof the antientest Cardinall of the deputed is head; and in his house the congregation is also held ordinarily once a moneth, and oftener if need be; it belonging to the Cardinall-head to intimate it, as it doth likewise to all the other Cardinalls, who are heads of congregations.

Of the Congregation for Water.—There is the congregation for water, wherein are handled mat-

ters concerning rivers, brookes, bridges, and the like; and a Cardinall is head thereof, in whose house the congregation is held, only at such times as there is need, wherefore there is no set day for it.

Of the Congregation for Fountaines, and the Streetes.—There is also a congregation concerning fountaines, and the streetes, of which the Cardinall Chamberlaine is head; but the congregation is held in the senior Cardinalls house, and hath no set day for meeting. The businesse of it is concerning the Aquæducts, which bring water to Rome, and the manner of distributing it over the City; as also how the streets may be made more commodious and enlarged.

Of the Congregations for printing of Bookes.—There is the congregation for the correcting and printing of Bookes, whereof a Cardinall is head, in whose house it is held, but they seldom meet, and therefore there is no set time for it.

Of the Councell for the Government of the State of the Holy Church.—There is the Councell wherein the government of the whole State of the holy Church is managed, and the head of it is the Cardinall Nephew to the Pope *pro tempore*, in whose lodging in the pallace it is held twice in a weeke, upon Frydayes and Tuesdayes, whereat are five or sixe Cardinalls, seven or eight Prelates,

and a Secretary, who is alwaies a Prelate, and a great confident of the Cardinall Nephews. In the said Councell is the whole government of the state of the Church handled; for the Vice-Legates, Prefects, Governors, Podestaes, and other officers, give an accompt to the councell at Rome, of all the important causes which happen in their governments; and the councell determines by decree what shall bee done in those cases, whereupon the Secretary drawes up the letters of order, and the Cardinall head subscribes them. Amongst the Prelates, which assist in the Councell, are the provinces divided, and they afterwards reade the busines of their provinces in the Councell. But the legation of Avignon, the government of Benevento in the kingdomes of Naples, of the city of Ceneda in the State of Venice, are not submitted to the councell at Rome, but they who governe in those places are free masters of them; neither is the government of the state of Fermo, and Spoleto subject thereunto. The Prelates of the said Councell have three parts of the palace, and a thousand crownes a yeare a peece in perquisites: the Secretary hath two thousand.

Of the Congregation for the easing of the People, & de bono Regimine.—There are the Congregations for the easing of the people, & *de bono Regimine*, whereof the Popes Cardinall Nephew *pro tempore* is the head; unto them have the Comminaltie recourse for the easing of their

grievances, wherewithall they are oppressed: they are held on the Saturday in the very same roomes, where the councell useth to sit; the congregation *de bono Regimine* in one, and that for the easing of the people in another, both of them in their turnes, with the intervening therein of five or six Cardinalls, and seven or eight Prelates, with one Secretary being alwaies present, and all of them ever the same in the two congregations.

All the letters and orders proceeding from them, are subscribed by the Popes Cardinall Nephew; and the Prelates have the same emolument which those of the councell have; every one of the said congregations, with the Secretary thereof, goe attyred in purple, and carry the title of his Holiness servants.

Of the Congregation concerning the Mint.—There is the Congregation for the Mint, in which all matters are handled that concerne the coyning of money, and all other monies of other jurisdictions, to the end they may be spent in the State of the Church. In it are foure Cardinalls and four Chamberlaines. the head of it is a Cardinall, in whose house this Congregation is alwaies held, when there is ^{B. P.} occasion for it.

Of the Congregation for the examining of persons destined to Bishopricks.—There is a Congregation for the examining of new Bishops, which is held

before his Holinesse, and it consists of nine or ten Cardinalls, some Prelates, and others, Fathers of certaine Orders of Religion; wherein are examined all such persons as are to be promoted to Bishopricks, for the Churches only of Italy. The party that is to bee examined remaines alwaies kneeling on a cushion before the Pope, and every one of the Congregation hath power to examine him: after he is examined, and approved of, he is written down in a booke, which the Secretary of the Congregation keepes. A Bishop that is once examined, if he changeth his Church, goes not againe to examination, one time onely sufficing for it: but if a Bishop, that was never examined, be promoted to another Church, hee must goe to examination: the Cardinalls alone are exempted from this examining. And this Congregation was instituted by Pope Clement the eight, who used to examine those persons himselfe, which made profession of the Law, but the professors of Divinity were examined by Cardinall Bellarmine.

Of the Congregation for Consistoriall Affaires.— There is a Congregation concerning Consistoriall matters, whereof the chief Cardinall Deacon *pro tempore* is the Head. It is held very seldome, because there are very few particular matters to be handled in it, but such as are, his Holiness appoints a day for them; and they use to be resignations of Bishopricks, the interests of taxations of the Church, of Consistoriall Abbeyes,

and such like. This Congregation is held in the house of the Cardinall Head.

In every one of the Congregations before named many Cardinalls doe assist, and particularly in that of Bishops, and Regulars, are foure and twenty ; every Congregation hath its particular Secretary, who drawes up the Letters, according to the Decrees which are established in full Congregation, and every Cardinall-Head subscribes the letters of his own Congregation, which are afterwards sealed by each Secretary, with the Seale of that Cardinall who hath subscribed them ; and the Register of them remaines in the hands of each severall Secretary. It is to be noted, that whilst there is a Consistory, no Congregation is ever held ; and if any one bee intimated, and the Pope holds a Consistory, they leave the Congregation and go to the Consistory ; which is alwaies held every week, either on Munday, Wednesday, or Friday : and that Congregation which was intituled before, is usually held after dinner the same day, for the Consistory is ever held betimes in the morning.

Of the three Archpriesthoods which are in the persons of Cardinalls.—There are also in the persons of some Cardinalls, three Archpriesthoods of the chiefe Churches of Rome ; that is, of Saint Peter in the Vatican, and of Santa Maria Maggiore : all three are esteemed great dignities ; and every one of these Cardinalls deputes a

Vicar for his Church, and assigns them such emoluments for their persons as seem good to them, which commonly is the profit of a common place of that Church. These three Archpriests have the power of conferring, each of them in his Church, all the Benefices, Livings, Chaplainships, and others, that fall voyd therein. The Archpriest of Saint John de Lateran administres Justice, both in criminall and civill causes, to all those persons which inhabit above that Church, for a certaine extent, according to the jurisdiction thereof, and in the holy yeare every Archpriest goes pontifically to his Church, accompanied with a great traine of horses, to open the holy Gate; and to that of Saint Paul the Cardinall Deacon goes: and the very same order is kept in shutting the holy Gate; but the holy Gate of Saint Peters is not opened nor shut by the Cardinall Archpriest, for that function is performed by the Pope himself.

In which Church the Fathers of the Society of Jesus are Penitentiaries; in that of Saint John de Lateran the Fathers of the order of Saint Francis are penitentiaries; and in that of Santa Maria Maggiore are the Fathers of the order of Saint Dominick Penitentiaries: In each of these places is a Penitentie, with good lodgings and commodious, where the said Fathers Penitentiaries doe continually reside, hearing confessions daily in their Churches; and amongst them are divers Fathers, which confesse in divers

Languages, yea even in the Orientall, and one of them for each severall place is Rector of the Penitentiaries.

Of the Ruota.—After those Offices, and Magistrates, in the persons of the Cardinalls, follows the Ruota, which hath twelve Prelates, whereof there is a Germane, a Frenchman, two Spaniards, and eight Italians, that is, a Bolognese, a Ferræse, a Venetian, a Toscan, a Milanese, and three Romans. Every Auditor hath foure Notaries, and they assemble in the Apostolicall Palace twice a weeke, unlesse it be vacation time, namely on Munday, and Friday. The jurisdiction of it is the beneficiall causes, both of the Catholicke Provinces, as of those that are in Schisme, and as well of Rome, as of the State Ecclesiasticall, most of all in tearmes of appeales. This Court gives over sitting the first weeke in July, and the last Ruota his Holinesse makes the Auditors a great Banquet in his owne Apostolicall Palace, where he gives to every Auditor an hundred Duckets of the Chamber, and to the Deacon two hundred; and they eate in the very same roome where they assemble together when they hold the Ruota.

This goodly custome was instituted by Pope Clement the eight, for that his Holiness had been the Auditor of the Ruota, being made so by Pope Pius Quintus of happy memory. The first of October the Ruota opens, and the first

Ruota belonging to the two last Auditors, who goe pontifically on their Mules, with a great traine of horse, and alight at the place where the Ruota is held: howbeit every Auditor rides alone by himselfe. Now it is to be noted, that in this riding of theirs, the Prelate Auditor goes formest, and all these who accompany him come behind, for a difference between the ryding and the Lords Cardinalls, before whom their traine and attendants doe alwaies ride, and their Eminencies follow after them. The office of every Auditor of the Ruota yields him a thousand crownes a yeare; and in the first Ruota the lowest Auditor makes an Oration. The Popes are wont to give unto those Auditors, for a recompence of the great paines they take, and because they are prohibited from receiving any fees for the sentences they pronounce, good Ecclesiasticall Revenews, and afterwards they are sometimes made Cardinalls, as Pope Clement the eight used to doe, who created five Auditors of the Ruota Cardinals, which were remarkable, and eminent persons, namely, Arigone, Bianchetto, Mantica, Cerafino, and Panfilio; now what these five were, doth appeare by their workes, which are in print.

Of the Reverend Chamber Apostolicall.—There is the Chamber Apostolicall, which useth to sit twice a weeke in his Holiness Palace, upon Munday, and Friday, and on such dayes as the Consistorie is held. There sits in it the Cardi-

nall Chamberlaine; the Lord Governor of Rome;
 a Vicechamberlaine; the Lord Treasurer Gene-
 rall; the Lord Auditor of the Chamber; the
 Lord President of the Chamber; the Auditor
 of the Poore; the Fiscall Advocate; the Com-
 missary of the Chamber; and twelve Clerkes
 of the Chamber, foure of which are alwaies, the
 one Prefect of corne and victual; one Prefect
 of flesh, and white meates; one Prefect of the
 prison, and one Prefect of the States, as shall be
 declared in its place. The jurisdiction of the
 Chamber Apostolicall is over all matters where-
 in the interest thereof is concerned; over all the
 writings and deeds concerning the Prefects, and
 renewes of the Sea Apostolicall; over the
 Treasures of the Provinces of the State Ecclesi-
 asticall; over causes of the Comminalty; and
 Ecclesiasticall Feudes; over causes of reprisall,
 and causes of accompt with the Officers, and
 Ministers of the State, over the coyning, and
 causes of money; over causes of Appeales from
 the Masters of the Streets about buildings, and
jure congrui; over matters of Customes, Taxes,
 and impositions, and other such like. The
 whole Chamber together hath nine Notaries,
 every one of the which holds of his Office apart
 by himselfe, with a substitute, and many others,
 that write under him. All the causes before
 mentioned are distributed by assignement
 amongst the said Clerks, together with the pro-
 portions that are made in the said Chamber.
 A Clerkes place of the Chamber is worth two.

and forty thousand crownes, and yeelde three thousand crownes a yeare. The Chamber Apostolicall gives over sitting at the same time the Ruota doth; and at the holding of the last Chamber his Holinesse makes a great banquet in the Palace Apostolicall, for all that are belonging to the Chamber: and another that is made the first of August by the Cardinall Chamberlaine. Upon Saint Peters Eve all the tributes of the Feudataries of the Holy Church are paid into the Chamber, whereof the ready money remaines in the custody of the Reverend Chamber, but some plate, as cupps, and such like, are the Treasurer Generalls Fees, and the wax is divided amongst the Clarke of the Chamber. Every one of the Officers aforesaid; which belong to the Chamber, hath his jurisdiction distinct and severall."*

* See a book entitled, "*The Court of Rome, &c.*" printed in the year 1654."—It is hardly necessary to inform the reader, that the persecuted and humiliated condition of the Pope now renders the use of several ceremonies, expensive and splendid in their nature, almost impossible to be attended to. The description which is here attempted has a principal reference to the state of Catholicism in more prosperous times than the present. The state of religion in the city of Rome somewhat resembles that of the Jewish services, at this time, in Christendom. Doubtless, sanguine believers in both Churches look anxiously for a restoration of their ancient dignity and glory. If my memory do not fail me, the Rev. J. Berington, one of the most liberal and enlightened priests in England, has somewhere expressed a hope and expectation of this nature. I believe this idea will be found in that gentleman's *Lives of Atterd and Blois*.

SECTION VI.

Of Persecution, and the Violation of Faith with Heretics.

THE present writer has no interest in denying that the Court of Rome has been in many instances a sanguinary and cruel Court; that thousands have been immolated on the altars of superstition and bigotry by the bloody acts and mandates of many Catholic princes, or rather, we should say, of many princes and popes, who have professed and abused the Catholic faith. But even on this subject much more has been said and written than is true; and sufficient care has not been taken to discriminate between the punishment of real or supposed rebels, and the martyrdom of innocent persons "for righteousness' sake."*

What Baxter said on another occasion may, with great propriety, be repeated on the subject of persecution, by Roman Catholics of the present day:—"Either it is true or false; if false, shame to the reporters; if true, what doth it

* A candid and just investigation of the real causes of Persecution, distinguishing the political from the purely religious instances of it, would form an interesting and useful volume.

concern us here, or any that are innocent, any further than to abhor it and lament it?"* It would be also unbecoming the dignity and candour of truth to deny, that Protestants have themselves been guilty of persecution; and that not only of Roman Catholics, but also of one another. A perfectly fair and correct History of Persecution has never yet been given, though attempts have been made by one or two respectable authors.† Pagans have persecuted Jews

* See the Paper entitled, "What History is credible and what not," prefixed to Baxter's History of Councils, p. 8. The same author also judiciously exclaims: "Alas! how little are most histories to be believed, when they prove not what they say: there are about sixty that say there was a Pope Joan, and near as many [there are now many more] that say no such thing." *Ibid.*

† The reader will not need to be reminded of Dr. Chandler's "History of Persecution, as it has been practised by Heathens, Christian Emperors, under the Popery, and among Protestants;" it is, in many respects, a valuable work. I find an Abridgment is advertised, by the Rev. Charles Atmore, an intelligent and industrious preacher in the Wesleyan connexion of Methodists. There is also "A short History of Persecution," by A. Robinson, written with considerable shrewdness and point. The *Martyrologies* are not to be depended on. The Histories of the Inquisition are dictated with an honourable, yet not always with a just, indignation against the Court, and too often even against the Church, of Rome. Lewis de Enarolles' *Memoirs of the Persecutions of the Protestants in France*, and Lockman's *History of Popish Persecution* develop some bloody scenes; but they are extremely partial, and often very inaccurate. *The Acts and Monuments*

and Christians; Jews have persecuted Christians and Pagans; and Christians have persecuted Pagans and Jews. Catholics have persecuted Episcopalian Protestants, and Episcopalian Protestants have persecuted Catholics; Dissenters from both have persecuted both, and both have persecuted Dissenters, who have laboured pretty successfully in persecuting one another.*

Monuments of Fox, in many cases, merits a much stronger censure than that it is incorrect. Anthony Wood and other Protestant writers have concurred in reprobating the partialities and errors of Fox, though his huge volume is still chained, along with the Bible to the desks in many of our old churches; and also, which I feel scandalized in having occasion to add, is allowed to lie on the tables of many Dissenting Vestries, for the edification of the faithful!

* In addition to the books referred to in the preceding note, the reader will find these melancholy facts confirmed in Neale's History of the Puritans, of which the best edition is the venerable Dr. Toulmin's; in Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, Wilson's History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches, a liberal and useful publication; in Bogue and Bennet's History of Dissenters, an illiberal work, but containing, nevertheless, much valuable information; in Penn's Life of George Fox, and in Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers. Doctor Milner's History of Winchester, and the same author's letters to a Prebendary, may also be consulted on this subject. A sensible and intelligent writer in the *Monthly Repository*,† has begun a series of Letters, of which
four

† I will here take the liberty of recommending this periodical publication to the notice of my Roman Catholic readers, as a liberal and respectable vehicle, through which they may freely, (if the professions

Various have been the kinds of persecution which erring Christians have exercised against each other, almost ever since the reign of Constantine the Great, when the kingdoms of this world first began to meddle with the doctrines of religion and the government of the Church. Some have defined persecution to be threefold: "1. *Mental*, when the spirit of a man rises up and opposes another. 2. *Verbal*, when we give hard words, and deal in uncharitable censures. 3. *Actual*, or *open by the hand*," or, perhaps, more properly *Manual*, "such as the dragging of innocent persons before the tribunal of justice."* There is another species of persecution not often spoken against: it is a sort of *constructive persecution*; such as is exercised against Roman Catholics in some Protestant countries. There is, too, a certain furious and savage way of writing and speaking even against persecution itself, which often savours pretty strongly of the spirit

four have already appeared, containing a "*Sketch of English Protestant Persecution*." I say nothing here of the numerous Church Histories, which are little more than illustrations of bigotry, exhibiting the lamentable effects of Church and State Alliances, the mother and offspring, the root and the branch of Persecution.

* See Buck's Theological Dictionary, Art. *PERSECUTION*.

professions of the Editor may be relied upon, and he has never yet deceived his readers) advocate their cause before a Protestant public; the pages of this work being open to all sects and parties without exception.

which such writers themselves reprobate. Now, if persecution do really admit of these several explications, it is to be feared we are all sadly involved in this most hateful crime. "*Mental persecution*" appears in most ancient and modern works of religious controversy; it lurks in obsolete Acts of Parliament, it steals into many of our prayers, and infuses its poison into most of our public services of Religion. "*Verbal Persecution*" is heard from almost every pulpit, and "goeth about, seeking whom it may devour", into social parties, meetings, and assemblies wherever religion is allowed to come into discussion. As to the last description of persecution; that which is *manual*, "*actual or open by the hand*," as I have already remarked, it has been but too general, and is still practised even by all those Protestants in this country who persist in forcing their fellow subjects to support measures or perform services at which their principles revolt, or by excluding them from places of honour and profit, purely on account of some real or supposed religious mistakes.*

In writing of persecution, as it has been maintained by some Catholics, it is proper to

* I allude principally to the tithe laws, the Test and Corporation Acts, and all taxes and services deemed ecclesiastical, which bear heavily on Catholics and Dissenters.

repeat, that *such a spirit and conduct are directly opposed to the religion of the Roman Catholic Church.** To talk, therefore, of the Church as a persecuting Church, is to libel and defame the religion of our ancestors. If this were not the case, then all Catholics who do not practise persecution are bad Catholics; they would be considered as departing from the rules and obligations of their religion, and would receive the spiritual censures which attach to every wilful deviation from the faith and discipline of the universal Church. Yes;—if the *religion* of Catholics taught persecution, then we should find prayers, creeds, articles, and charges enforcing coercion and severity against the opponents of the Church; and bulls, anathemas, censures, and excommunications would abound against all those who should refuse to persecute, hate, and

* “ Because we are Catholics, it is not necessary that we should be actuated by a persecuting spirit against those who are averse to our religion. Meekness and charity are its grand characteristics, and the examples left us by our predecessors recommend to us a contrary conduct.” See the “ Answer to the third Question ” proposed to the University of Salamanca, respecting the supposed tenet of not keeping faith with heretics. The reader will find an abstract of these several questions and answers in a former part of this work, and a still more extended abstract in the Appendix to Sir John Cox Hippenley’s Speech on the Catholic Question, in 1810. The answers and judgment of the several Universities are given in length at the Appendix to Cuthell and Martin’s Edition of the Catholic Debates in Parliament, in 1805.

destroy heretics. It would be a sin, in the eye of a good Catholic not to inflict misery on the body of his religious neighbour who should differ from him, and it would form a subject of confession to all the faithful who should neglect to propagate the truth by means of force. But who ever yet heard of a mass for the hanging of unbelievers? What general council has decreed, *ex cathedra*, that whosoever does not burn heretics without doubt he shall perish everlastingly? Did ever any Catholic lady go to confession, bitterly lamenting that she had not poisoned her heretical husband, or any husband that he had not strangled his infidel wife? Was any monarch ever deposed, or any kingdom interdicted, because all the non-conforming subjects had not been hanged, drawn and quartered? And what is the price of an indulgence for having neglected to rob and plunder a Protestant? I repeat it—if persecution be a tenet of the Catholic Church, how erroneously have the biographers of the mild, the excellent Fenelon, estimated his merits as a Catholic. The almost seraphic Madame de Guion, the truly devout Mons. de Renty, and the pious Thomas à Kempis, were all hypocrites, and contumacious despisers of the religion which they professed, and to whose interests they appeared to have been so sincerely devoted. And what should we say, in that case, to the great body of English and Irish Catholics of our own day? What inconsistency appears in the conduct of such Catholics as the Earl of Fin-

gal, who, with others, took up arms in the County of Meath against his rebellious brethren, and in defence of a Protestant government, and an heretical monarch !* How supine and negligent is the conduct of such men as the author of the Lives of Abelard and Eloisa,† the learned and liberal author of *Horæ Biblicæ*,‡ or the friend of the pious and excellent, but afflicted Cowper.§ Men with whom numerous highly respectable Protestants have thought it an honour to be acquainted, and who never yet manifested the most distant disposition to persecute others on account of their religion.

There is another consideration worthy of regard, on the supposition that persecution is a tenet of the Catholic Church, which many Protestants have imagined to be the case :|| I be-

* See Mr. Wakefield's Account of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 367. Whoever would become perfectly acquainted with the true state of this oppressed and injured country will find ample gratification in the perusal of this invaluable publication, which has but just made its appearance.

† The Rev. Joseph Berington.

‡ Charles Butler, Esq.

§ Sir John Throckmorton, Bart. See the Letters of Cowper, in Hayley's Life of that poet.

|| " If it be true," says Dr. Sturges, " that persecution was not a *tenet* of the Roman Catholic Religion, all of us Protestants must have been long under a most egregious mistake." This observation owes its origin to what Dr. Milner said, " that if Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any

tenet

lieve it will be granted, that there is not a single article of faith to be found in any acknowledged Catholic Catechism, Creed, or Council, which has not, at one time or other, been defended from the press, and been urged upon the people as essential to their final salvation. It is with the Catholic articles of divine faith, as Mr. Pope declares to be the case with the universal system of nature, from the chain which if you strike either a "tenth or a ten thousandth" link, it is equally broken. The religion of Catholics, according to their ideas, as it admits of no additions, neither does it allow of any deductions. So common is this opinion, that Protestants have even charged it against the Catholics as a mark of extreme obstinacy and prejudice.* Now I should be glad to know what Catholic author ever wrote expressly in defence of persecution, as an article of divine faith, which has been received by all Christians, at all times, and in all places, according to the rule of St. Vincent, so often referred to. Some writers may, nay, doubtless, have appeared to extenuate, or even justify the interference of the magistrate, when the doctrines of religion have been opposed; but these mistakes, to give them no harsher a term, are unfortu-

tenet of her religion that she became so," than which a more just remark could not have been made. See *Sturges's Reflections on Popery*, p. 52; and *Milner's History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 355.

* See "*Popery always the same.*"

nately not confined to Catholic writers.* The learned Bossuet has been accused, and not without some shew of reason, of defending this doctrine of magisterial interference† in the suppression of heresy; but it should be remembered, that the arguments used by the Bishop of Meaux, in defence of this hateful tenet, are not drawn from any article of faith, or any decree of Council,

* The defenders of the Catholic faith in these days write with much more candour, and allow of a much greater latitude of explication in definitions of *heresy*, and *heretics*, than did the writers of earlier times. See "*Charity and Truth; or Catholics not uncharitable in saying that none can be saved out of the Catholic Church,*" by the Rev. Dr. Edward Hawarden. It is a thick 8vo. vol. published in 1809. The reader may also peruse with advantage, a little pamphlet, published at Gloucester, in 1811, entitled "*The Protestant's best Guide,*" &c. But above all, he should read the *Miscellaneous Tracts* of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, particularly the *Essay on Toleration*. There is an almost irresistible strain of wit and irony in this gentleman's writings, mixed, in some instances, with that tincture of sophism for which the priestly defenders of the faith are but too conspicuous. In his *Defence of the Divinity of Christ*, a subject, which, more than any other, has a tendency to "try the spirits" of our Christian controvertists, he is quite as liberal as most of the Protestant advocates of the same doctrine.

† When magistrates are engaged in preserving the peace, and protecting the innocent, they ought to be had in the highest veneration and respect; but when they depart from the proper line of their office to lay their hands on religion, "whatever they touch they fly-blow, and leave it to ferment and fester;" a figure once most unjustly applied against the laborious ministers of Methodism. See *Annual Review*, vol. i art. Myles's Chronological History of the Methodists.

but, as Dr. Milner* properly remarks, “ by an *argumentum ad hominem*, or a reference to the doctrine of the founders, and other most illustrious writers of the Reformation on the point in question.” The passage referred to in Bossuet,† has, perhaps, been misunderstood by Bishop Hurd,‡ and his copier, Dr. Sturges;§ and this misunderstanding has arisen out of a supposed false translation of the French word *souffrance*, which, Dr. Sturges contends, means *toleration*, and not *suffering*;|| and the connexion in which the word stands would appear to countenance such an application of the term. “ There is no need,” says Bossuet, “ of explaining myself on the question, whether or no Christian princes have a right to use the sword against such of their subjects as are enemies to sound doctrine and the Church, the Protestants agreeing with us on that point.” He then cites Luther,¶ Me-

* Letters to a Prebendary, p. 117.

† Variations, book x. sect. 56. p. 52. Eng. translation.

‡ Introduction to the Prophecies, p. 381.

§ Reflections on Popery, pp. 55, 56.

|| The truth is, that this word is used in both senses ; yet, all its derivatives seem to convey no other idea than that of *patient suffering*. Besides, our English word *toleration* is not rendered into French by the word *souffrance*, but *tolérance* ; yet the French word *tolérable* means that which is *allowable*, or which may be *tolerated*!

¶ Luth. de Magist. T. iii.

lancthon,* and Jurieu,† as also the established discipline of the Reformed Church of Geneva, in support of his assertion and opinion; and concludes by saying,—“ Il n’y point d’illusion plus dangereuse, que donner la souffrance pour un caractere de vraye eglise.” There cannot be a more dangerous illusion, than to regard *suffering* (or patient endurance) as a characteristic of the true Church; “nor do I know,” he adds, “amongst Christians, any besides Socinians and Anabaptists, who oppose this doctrine.”‡ But if Bossuet, or any other writer, have defended this execrable opinion, to what does it amount? Certainly not, that it is taught in the creeds, catechisms, and devotions of all Roman Catholics; and I contend, that no article is considered as a tenet of the Church, that is not so conveyed.

The tenth book of Bossuet’s “Variations,” from which I have been quoting, treats princi-

* Calvin opusc. p. 659. *Ibid.* 600, 659.

† Jur. Lyst. ii. c. 22. 33.

‡ If the Bishop of Meaux did indeed mean, by the word *souffrance* what we generally understand by *toleration*, the Socinians and Anabaptists ought to feel grateful for the undesigned compliment. Would to God that all Christians would be careful to number among the “Notes of the Church” this divine right of unbounded toleration, or rather of unlimited freedom in matters purely religious!

pally of "the Reformation in England, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, and on the civil wars of France, which he accuses her of fomenting, and which, he affirms, were produced by a leading principle of the early Reformers, that it is lawful for subjects to levy war against their Sovereign, on account of religion ;"* a position as false, and almost as dangerous, as the one I have been reprobating. It is not, however, to the opinions of this or that individual Doctor, Bishop, Pope, or Priest, that we are to look for the genuine doctrines of the Church. No communion admits a more extended range of speculation, or a more unlimited freedom of mere opinion, *on points not universally admitted as articles of divine faith*, than the Communion of the Church of Rome. To this day, various are the differences on minor points of religious opinion, and on several branches of Christian discipline, among Catholics ; and warm, I wish I could not add, sometimes even bitter and acrimonious, are the disputes which they maintain among themselves.† To take the opinions, therefore, of any one man,

* See Mr. Butler's interesting "Account of the Life and Writings of James Benigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux," p. 71.

† In collecting the materials for this work, I have amassed a vast pile of Catholic Controversy in pamphlets, and larger volumes, that would surprise, perhaps, undeceive, many Protestants, who imagine that Catholics never differ but they damn ; never dispute but they divide. They form no part of the

or of any number of men, short of the universal Church, as articles of faith, were to the highest degree improper and erroneous.

But it will be contended, that the practice of Catholics in all ages, has been to prosecute and destroy heretics; and that the various laws enacted and acted upon by the Church clearly manifest that persecution is indeed a genuine article of the Catholic Church; and that if it were not so, those princes, and others who have persecuted, would have been censured by the Church for their cruelty and disobedience. This objection would have considerable weight if the practice had existed to the same extent, at all times, by all princes, and in all places; and if persecuting princes had never received any censures for their cruelty. But neither of these cases can be made out. It would also deserve a more minute investigation were the practice of persecution peculiar to Roman Catholics; but neither is this true: for even Protestants have practised and defended persecution, by fire and sword; and have written large books in support of their measures and tenets.* “ One would indeed have

the picture I engaged to draw, and I have not thought it necessary to portray these differences on the same canvas which is occupied by a delineation of the *religion* of Roman Catholics.

* See particularly, “ A Declaration for maintaining the

imagined," says Dr. Benson,* "that the cruelties exercised by the papists upon all who opposed their superstitions in worship, and their corruptions in doctrine, should have given the first Reformers an utter abhorrence of all methods of persecution for conscience-sake, and have kept them from ever entering into any such measures themselves. But it must be confessed, that however they differed from the Church of Rome, as to doctrines and discipline, yet, that they too generally agreed with her in the methods to support what they themselves apprehended to be truth and orthodoxy; and were angry with the papists, not for persecuting, but for persecuting themselves and their followers; being really of opinion that heretics might be persecuted, and in some cases persecuted to death. And that this was their avowed principle, they gave abundant demonstration by their practice."

Luther's opinion concerning persecution was not so cruel as was Calvin's, on the same subject. The Saxon Reformers were only for having here-

true Faith, held by all Christians, concerning the Trinity of Persons in one only God, by John Calvin, against the detestable errors of Michael Servetus, a Spaniard. In which it is also proved that it is lawful to punish heretics, and that this wretch was justly executed in the city of Geneva. Geneva, 1554."

* History of Persecution, p. 308.

ties banished,* corrected, and forced at least to silence, if they publicly deny any one of the articles received by all Christians, and particularly that Christ is God, affirming him to be a mere man or prophet. In another place,† Seckendorf goes further, and says, that heretics are not indeed to be put to death, but may be confined, and shut up in some certain place, and put under restraint as madmen. But against the Jews he would act more severely, and have their Synagogues levelled with the ground, their houses destroyed, their books of prayer, and of the talmud, and even those of the Old Testament, taken from them; their Rabbis forbid to teach, and forced by hard labour to get their bread; and if they would not submit to this, that they should be banished, as was formerly practised in France and Spain.‡

* Benson's Hist. of Persecution, p. 310. from Seckendorf, l. 2. sect. 36. § 83.

† Seck. l. 3. sect. 8. § 28. Benson.

‡ Ib. l. 3. sect. 27. § 3. l. 3. sect. 33. § 125. Benson. It is a singular fact, that the Jews are in a much better condition in France, under a Catholic government, and the tyranny of Bonaparte, than they are in England, under a Protestant government, and the mild and gentle sway of a British monarch. In France, Jews are treated as free citizens, and are fast emerging from that state of ignorance, meanness, and wretchedness, into which the bigotry of former times had plunged them. See Mr. W. H. Reid's *NEW SANHEDRIN and Causes and Consequences of the French Emperor's Conduct towards the Jews*, passim. In England, they are still "a people perled and

Nor was this intolerance of Luther directed against Jews and Papists only. He persuaded the Electors of Saxony not to tolerate the followers of Zwinglius, in the opinion of the sacrament, because he esteemed the real presence an essential and fundamental article of faith, nor to enter into any terms of union with them, for their common safety and defence, against the Catholics. They were accordingly left out of the common league against the papists; the Elector having been persuaded by Luther, Melancthon, and others of the party, to refuse them this protection; and all this because the disciples of the Swiss Reformer "taught articles contrary to those received in Saxony."*

Nor was this all: we are informed by Seckendorf, that the Lutheran lawyers of Wittemberg

and trodden upon," refused the occupation of landed property, excluded from all places of honour and trust, for the most part despised and insulted; except in one or two instances, wherein the parties are rich; and then, indeed, all due respect is paid to them, even by our princes and nobles. An instance of this kind must be fresh in the recollection of most of my readers. It is not less worthy of remark, that the Catholics of the Gallican Church are much more liberal towards Sectaries, than are the Episcopalians of the Reformed English Church. Protestants, as a body, are now protected, and even encouraged in France; Catholics are degraded, and even insulted in England! And yet we are perpetually clamouring against Popish intolerance and persecution!

* Benson's History of Persecution, pp. 310, 311.

condemned to death one Peter Pestelius, for being a Zwinglian, and several of the Anabaptists were put to death for propagating their opinions; though the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel declared himself favourable to more moderate proceedings.*

If the doctrines of Luther discountenanced persecution to death, those of Calvin were of a very different complexion. It is hardly possible to reflect with candour on the wicked conduct of the Genevan Reformer on a variety of occasions. To dispute his notions about Predestination, Election, Free-Will, and Faith, was, in his estimation, a perfectly fair ground for the severest punishment that could be inflicted. Nor did he think it any crime to pursue the most artful, perfidious, and unjust measures to bring his enemies to destruction. Falsehood and perfidy, slander the most malignant, and malice the most inveterate, were all indulged by this hot-brained Predestinarian, when a heretic was to be impeached and hunted down. His conduct towards Castellio, whom he protected and betrayed, flattered and persecuted, patronised and punished, is of itself sufficient to ruin his character in the eyes of all thinking persons.

Nor was this reformer's conduct much less

* Benson's Hist. of Persecution, p. 310, 311.

base towards the poor converted Carmelite monk, Jerom Bolsec, whom he caused to be apprehended, sent to prison, and afterwards banished from the city of Geneva for ever, or, if he returned, to be whipped for his contumacy. And all this, because the poor monk held the doctrines of free-will, predestination to life, upon the foresight of good works.*

But the conduct of Calvin, in the above instances, was mild and amiable, compared to that which he practised in his treatment of the learned and pious Spanish physician, Michael Servetus, who, after a series of almost unparalleled suffering, brought on by the treachery and bigotry of Calvin, was publicly burned to death, in the PROTESTANT city of Geneva.†

Melancthon, the "mild Melancthon," as we sometimes denominate him, in a letter to Bullenger, says he thinks the senate of Geneva did right in putting to death Servetus; and he wonders that there are any who disapprove that severity.‡

* The reader will find these facts confirmed in *Besa's Life of Calvin*, to which Dr. Benson refers as his authority for stating them.

† This affair of Calvin's diabolical conduct towards Servetus has been detailed with suitable severity in Mr. Wright's *Apology for Servetus*; and it has been palliated and even sometimes justified, in various Calvinistic publications, both in this and other countries.

‡ Works of Calvin, the last volume.

Bucer, another reformer of Popery, declares that Servetus "ought to have his bowels plucked out, and be torn to pieces;" and Farrel, in a letter to Calvin, says he deserved to die ten thousand deaths; with much more of the same liberal cast. The reformed pastors of the Church of Basil, those of Berne, the ministers of Zurich, and also of Scaffhusen, all agree in the sentence of the Senate, or urge that body to severe measures in regard to Servetus.* These facts "clearly demonstrate," says Dr. Benson, "that Calvin acted seriously and deliberately in this affair."

2

The persecutions and martyrdoms at Berne, Basil, Zurich, in Holland, by the Synod of Dort, and even in this country, all shew that the practice is not confined to the Church of Rome,† or to princes and priests of that communion. Nor had the spirit of persecution subsided even in much later writers. Chillingworth has very little hope of the salvation of those who live and die in the communion of the

* See the Letters printed at the end of *Calvin's Institutes*.

† They are detailed in the Letters above referred to, at the end of *Calvin's Institutes*; Gerrard Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, Beza's *Life of Calvin*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and the other works mentioned in Benson's *History of Persecution*. *Dodd's Church History of England* abounds with instances of Protestant persecution.

Church of Rome ;* yet Chillingworth has been thought by many to have been tintured with Unitarianism, a system, perhaps, less stained with persecution than any other, not even excepting the Quakers. Tillotson has his fears on the same subject.† Nay, even much later writers than these have shewn a disposition by no means favourable to the final salvation of Roman Catholics ; and the laws still in force against both them and Dissenters, are standing and damning proofs that the age of religious oppression is not yet entirely past. Nor should it be forgotten, that the points for which the reformed have cut the throats of heretics, have been of much less importance, for the most part, than those for which Roman Catholics have contended in the same way. Who does not know what has been said and done in Scotland about the use of the surplice, the ring in marriage, the sign of the cross in baptism, and the genuflexions at the Eucharist ? To deny the mystery of the blessed Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, the mysterious doctrine of transubstantiation, or the opinions concerning the supremacy of the Pope, the infallibility of the Church, and the belief in purgatory, are, it must be allowed, deviations from the old doctrines of somewhat more spiri-

* See *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*, part i. chap. iii. p. 129. Ed. 1674.

† See the Sermon on this point in his works.

tual importance than any of the terms of the solemn League and Covenant, the shape of a garment, or the position of the knee at the Lord's supper.*

But Protestants have never been as cruel in their punishments as the Catholics:—the one burned people at the stake; the other only beheaded, hanged, drowned, starved or pinched their victims to death. Alas! I wish it were true that we have never burned heretics; but, alas! Protestants have had their fires also; and were I to adduce all the instances of this nature with which our history is so much tarnished, it is to be feared many of my brethren would ac-

* The persecutions against sectaries have always been numerous and vexatious; and the most powerful and rich have ever thought themselves fully entitled to treat with rigour and contempt the dissenter and the disobedient. Dr. Plot mentions three causes, which it appears have a beneficial effect in suppressing three corresponding evils, now so common in every petty village in the kingdom. The parish of Brightwell, the Doctor observes, is particularly "worthy of memory" for its *Christian unanimity*; and that "there has not been known any such thing as an ale-house, a SECTARY, or suit of law commenced in the whole parish in the memory of man." This he mentions to "the eternal honour of its inhabitants," and attributes the cause to the piety and prudence of the "Lord of the town," meaning the mayor, the rector, and his predecessors, "and the good disposition of the people themselves;" much better antidotes against vice and error than fire and faggot, or even than hanging and starving. The tempers of Christians have improved since A. D. 1676, when Plot wrote. See Plot's Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire, p. 203.

cuse me of a leaning towards popery, and of prejudice against the Reformation; so little do some Protestants concern themselves to learn the whole truth on this subject.*

But, it will be further asked, are not Roman Catholic priests and bishops bound by an oath to resist and persecute heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the Pope and his successors? To say the least of this, Dr. Troy† has shewn, that in countries not in communion with the See of Rome, that part of the oath is now omitted; but the repeatedly avowed principles, as well as the uniform conduct of the Roman Catholics, have long demonstrated, that no such sense as Dr. Duigenan, and others of the same party, have put upon that oath, is admitted by Catholics. Surely no persons were ever more unfortunately circumstanced than the present race

* The total number of Catholics, who suffered the death of traitors for denying Henry VIII., to be the spiritual head of the Church was sixty. Of these, John Fisher was bishop of Rochester; three were Benedictine Abbots; three others Carthusian Priors; sixteen Monks; twenty-three Clergymen; and the rest Knights, Gentlemen and Yeomen. Besides these, sixty-four other Carthusians or Franciscans were condemned to death, most of whom were starved in prison. See *Dodd's Church Hist.* vol. i., p. 342, and *Sanders de Visibili Monarchia Ecclesia*, cited in Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, p. 121.

† Pastoral Letter, as quoted by Doctor Duigenan, in his speech against the Catholics on the 25th of March, 1805.

of Roman Catholics in this country: ' They are told that their faith is hostile to the safety of a Protestant state, and that they cannot be even tolerated without some security for their allegiance. For this purpose an oath is framed, and framed too, for the most part by those who so imperiously demand it.* When this oath is tendered and taken, then the Catholics are again insultingly branded with holding the very tenets they have abjured by all the solemnities of an oath, and all the obligations of the laws. When they complain of this as hard usage, they are called restless, ambitious, turbulent, and *persecuting* ! In these cases well might Mr. Grattan say,† that when his opponent imputed, as he had done, to the Catholic principles which he had thus abjured, it " is not the Catholic who breaks faith with him, but it is he (Dr. D.) who breaks faith with the Catholic."

The cruel accusation against Catholics, of not keeping faith with heretics, has been again and again so clearly refuted, that I should not have thought it necessary to enlarge upon it, were I not persuaded that something on this subject will be expected from me : nor would I otherwise waste the reader's time by any formal

* See Mr. Grattan's speech in confutation of Dr. Duignan, on the day above referred to.

† Ubi *supra*.

proof of the injustice of this charge. I deny, most positively, that any such opinion either is, or ever was, an article of faith in the Catholic Church; let those who persist in the charge, prove that I am mistaken, and I submit: but they must prove it, not from the conduct of any individual prince, or even bishop; from the supposed act of any single council; but by the rule of St. Vincent, and the catechism, prayers and devotions of the Catholic religion. Do this, and I will be ready to add even this objection to many others which I have to the religion of Roman Catholics. Yet it is not even true that the Council of Constance ever decreed any such general principle as the not-keeping faith with heretics; but only that no safe-conduct granted by any temporal sovereign, should be allowed in stay of the proceedings or right of any council to condemn heretics. Let us, however, carefully and dispassionately examine the facts on which this extraordinary charge is founded. If it be true that the Roman Catholic Church have ever taught that no faith is to be kept with heretics, then I grant that persecution of the most hateful and diabolical nature is indeed a tenet of that religion; and that to grant power and toleration to people holding such a damnable doctrine, would be the height of folly and madness.*

* Nothing, I am firmly persuaded, but the most deeply rooted mistake concerning the faith of Catholics in this particular,

The council of Constance was called by the Emperor Sigismund, and Pope John XXIII., towards the close of the year 1414. The great objects for which this celebrated Council was called, have already been mentioned.* At this Council, the famous John Huss, and his friend and companion, Jerome of Prague, were tried and found guilty of heresy, and of several attempts to disturb the peace of the Church, and even to raise a general rebellion against the Court of Rome, and the temporal authority of the Pope. Several Bohemian students having been in England, for the advantage of learning at the University of Oxford, met with the writings of Wickliffe, and imbibed his principles, civil and religious. These opinions they carried back with them to Prague, as well as the books in which they were contained, which fell into the hands of John Huss, rector of the university of that city, and a man of great learning,

ticular, could induce many persons who object to their claims to persist in that system of intolerance, which so much dishonours and scandalizes the Protestant name. I am far from wishing to join in the clamour against these persons, as if they were really friendly to persecution and bigotry, and that they take pleasure in opposing the just demands of the Catholics, merely because they do not like their religious opinions. The fear is natural; but the mistake that gives birth to it is unfounded. There is no illiberality in prudence and self-defence, but there is a want of candour in not patiently investigating the causes of prejudice. But, I fear, there are more *political* than *religious* objectors to emancipation.

* Vide ante, Part I. § iv. p. 78.

eloquence, and enterprise. These notions were exactly suited to the disposition of Huss, and he did not hesitate to recommend them in the most public manner possible. The sanctity of his life, the purity of his morals, and the zeal and eloquence of his harangues, soon gained him numerous proselytes : among whom there was, particularly, a professor of divinity, though not in holy orders, named Jerome of Prague, a man of a warm and sanguine habit, pious, zealous, subtle in argument, and witty and satirical in disputation. The errors, real or supposed, which these persons disseminated, soon attracted the notice of the council of Constance, then assembled, and Huss was cited to appear before that assembly, to answer such interrogatories as might be put to him. This summons, with apparent willingness, he immediately obeyed, having first obtained a safe-conduct, or passport, from the Emperor Sigismund, confident that no heresy could be proved against him, and willing, should this be done, to retract his errors, or cheerfully yield to the sentence of his superiors, whose authority in spiritual matters he had never disputed, and whose leading and fundamental doctrines he had never denied.

Most of the errors, charged against John Huss and his friend Jerome of Prague, were collected from the writings of Wickliffe ; and it must be confessed, that many of the charges were of a serious and dangerous nature, affecting not

merely the speculations of the fashionable religion of the time,* and the exorbitant power and luxury of the clergy; but even aiming a blow at the authority of the state, and the rights of all government. I am well aware how very common, and unjust, it is to brand every attempt at Reform as an attack on order and government; and thus to stifle and crush the wise and benevolent efforts of good and patriotic men. And this was, in many instances, the case with respect to the Lollards, as the disciples of Wickliffe were called.†

* Doctor Heylin says, that "many of Wickliffe's opinions were so far from truth, so contrary to peace and civil order, so inconsistent with the government of the Church of Christ, as to be utterly unworthy of so great a character. But such is the humour of some men, as to call every separation from the Church of Rome the gospel, and the greater the separation, the more pure the gospel." *Animadversions on Fuller*, p. 65.

† The 8th session of this Council of Constance decreed, that the bones of Wickliffe should be taken up, as unworthy of the sacred ground in which they were quietly reposing, and the following articles, collected from his writings, were condemned as heretical and dangerous:—"1. That the substance material of bread and wine remain in the sacrament of the altar. 2. The accidents of bread remain not without the substance. 3. Christ is not identically and really in his proper bodily presence in the sacrament. 4. If a Bishop or Priest live in mortal sin, he ordaineth not, baptizeth not, consecrateth not. 5. The gospel saith not that Christ instituted the mass. 6. God ought to obey the devil. 7. If a man be contrite aright, outward confession is

**The Rev. Mr. O'Leary, in his second Letter
addressed to the conductors of the FREE PRESS,**

is needless and unprofitable. 8. If the Pope be a reprobate, and wicked, and so a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful given him by any but Cæsar. 9. Since Urban the Sixth, none is to be taken for Pope, but we must live as the Greeks, under our own laws. 10. It is against scripture that churchmen have possessions. 11. No prelate should excommunicate any one, unless he know that God hath first excommunicated him: And he that so excommunicateth, is thereby a heretic or excommunicate. 12. A prelate that excommunicateth a clerk who appealed to the king, or to the council of the kingdome, is thereby a traytor to the king and kingdome. 13. They that give over preaching, or hearing God's word, for men's excommunication, are excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be judged traytors to Christ. 14. It is lawful for a deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic seal, or a Catholic bishop. 15. No one is a civil lord, or a prelate, or a bishop, while he liveth in mortal sin. 16. Temporal lords may take away temporal goods from the Church, from a possessor habitually criminal, and not only in act. 17. The people may correct their delinquent lords. 18. Tythes are meer alms, and the parishioners may take them away for their prelate's sins. 19. The special prayers applied by prelates and religious men to one person, profit him no more than the general ones. 20. He that giveth alms to fryars is thereby excommunicate. 21. He that enters the private religion, either of the possessing or the mendicant fryars, becomes less fit and able to keep the commandments of God. 22. Holy men that made private religions, thereby sinned. 23. The religious, living in private religion, are not of the Christian religion. 24. Fryars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging. 25. They are simoniacal that bind themselves to pray for others for a temporal

in reply to the charge which the late Mr. Wesley brought against the Catholics, of not keep-

temporal reward. 26. The prayer of reprobates availeth not to any. 27. All things come to pass by necessity. 28. The confirmation of youth, the ordination of clerks, the consecration of places, are reserved to the Pope and Bishops for covetousness of temporal gain and honour. 29. Universities, studies, colledges, degrees, and masterships in them, are introduced by vain gentility, and profit the church as much as the devil doth. 30. The excommunication of a Pope, or any prelate, is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist. 31. They that found cloysters sin, and they are diabolical that enter them. 32. To enrich the clergy is against Christ's rule. 33. Pope Sylvester, and the Emperor Constantine, erred in enriching the Church. 34. All the order of begging fryars are heretics; and those that give to them are excommunicate. 35. They that enter religious or any order, are thereby disabled from keeping God's commands, and so of coming to heaven, unless they forsake them. 36. The Pope, and all his clergy, that have possessions, are therefore hereticks, and the secular lords and laicks that consent to them. 37. The Church of Rome is the synagogue of satan; and the Pope is not the immediate and nearest vicar of Christ and the apostles. 38. The Decretal Epistles are apocryphal, and seduce from the faith of Christ, and the clerks that study them are fools. 39. The emperor and secular lords were seduced by the devil to enrich the Church with temporal goods. 40. The election of the Pope by Cardinals was introduced by the devil. 41. It is not necessary to salvation to believe the Church of Rome to be the supreme among other churches. 42. It is foolish to trust to the Indulgencies of the Pope and the Bishops. 43. Oaths made to strengthen humane contracts and civil commerce, are unlawful. 44. Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, are damned, unless they repented of having possessions, and instituting and entering religious; and so from the Pope to the lowest religious, they are all hereticks. 45. All religious were introduced by the devil."—*Baxter's History of Councils.*

ing faith with heretics,* states the history of the case relative to John Huss, in the following manner: quoting Mr. Wesley's charge, he says,—

“ The council of Constance has openly avowed violation of faith with heretics. But it has never been openly disclaimed. Therefore,” concludes Mr. Wesley, “ the Roman Catholics should not be tolerated amongst the Turks or Pagans.”

“ A council, so often quoted in anniversary sermons, parliamentary debates, and flying pamphlets, challenges peculiar attention. We shall examine it with as much precision as possible, and with the more impartiality, as strict justice shall be done to all parties. Mr. Wesley *knows* that we are all Adam's children, who feel the fatal impressions of our origin, and that ambition

* I am very well persuaded, that had Mr. Wesley been living at this time, and had heard the repeated disavowals of this hateful tenet, which our Catholic brethren are every day making, he would have been the first man to lend his great talents and influence to the cause of liberty and justice: for when Mr. Wesley said, that “ Catholics should not be tolerated amongst the Turks or Pagans,” it was under a mistaken impression that they did hold a tenet injurious to the safety and happiness of the state. No man was ever more ready to acknowledge an error, of which he was once convinced, than was Mr. Wesley. See his *Letter concerning the civil Principles of Roman Catholics*.

which took its rise in heaven itself, often lurks in a corner of the sanctuary, where the ministers of religion offer up their prayers, as well as in the cabinets of kings, where shrewd courtiers form their intrigues. At a time, then, when ambition, that insatiable desire of elevation, that worm which stings the heart, and never leaves it at rest, presented the universe with the extraordinary sight of three prelates reviving the restless spirit of the Roman triumvirate, and disturbing the peace of mankind as much with their spiritual weapons, as Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus had disturbed it with their armed legions. At a time when the broachers of new doctrines were kindling up the fire of sedition, and after shaking the foundations of what was then the established religion, were shaking the foundations of thrones and empires. At that critical time, in fourteen hundred and fourteen, was held the council of Constance, with a design, as the fathers of that council express themselves, to reform the Church in her head and members; and put an end to the calamities which the restless pride of three bishops, assuming the titles of popes, by the names of Gregory the Twelfth, Benedict the Thirteenth, and John the Twenty-third, had brought on Europe, split into three grand factions by the ambition of the above-mentioned competitors. Such transactions in the ministers of a religion that preaches up peace and humility, as the solid foundations on which the structure of all Christian virtues is to be raised, may

startle the unthinking reader, and give him an unfavourable idea of religion."

"To the council of Constance was cited John Huss, a Bohemian, famous for propagating errors tending to tear the mitre from the heads of Bishops, and wrest the sceptre from the hands of kings; in a word, he was obnoxious to church and state; and if Mr. Wesley and I preached up his doctrine *in the name of God*, we would be condemned *in the name of the king*. The Protestant and Catholic divines would banish us from their universities, and the judges of assize would exterminate us from civil society. Such a doctor had no indulgence to expect from a council, which, after deposing two rivals for the popedom, condemned a third for contumacy, and elected another in his room.

"But in mentioning John Huss, whose trial and execution at Constance have given rise to the foul charge of *violation of faith with heretics*, let none imagine that I am an apologist for the fiery execution of persons, on the score of religious opinions. Let the legislators who were the first to invent the cruel method of punishing the errors of the mind with the excruciating tortures of the body, and anticipating the rigor of eternal justice, answer for their own laws. I am of opinion, that the true religion, propagated by the effusion of the blood of its martyrs, would still triumph without burning the flesh of heretics;

and that the Protestant* and Catholic legislators who have substituted the blazing pile in the room of Phalaris's brazen bull, might have pointed out a more lenient punishment for victims, who, in their opinion, had no prospect during the interminable space of a boundless eternity, but that of *passing from one fire into another*. If, in enacting such laws, they had consulted the true spirit of religion, I believe the reformation of their own hearts would have been a more acceptable sacrifice to the Divinity, than hecatombs of human victims. "No God nor man, says Tertullian, "should be pleased with a forced sacrifice." "We are not to persecute those whom God tolerates," says St. Augustine. That faith is fictitious which is inspired by the edge of the sword.

"But still the nature of society is such, that when once the common land-marks are set up, it opposes the hand of the individual that attempts to remove them. Where one common mode of worship is established, and fenced by the laws of the state, whoever attempts to overthrow it, must expect to meet with opposition and violence, until custom softens the rigour of early prejudices, and reconciles us to men whose features and lineaments are like our own, but still

* "The imperial laws, which condemned heretics to the flames, have been put into execution by Calvin, queen Elizabeth, James the First," &c.

seem strange to us, because their thoughts are different.

“ How far opposition to religious innovations is justifiable, is not our business to discuss. But the experience of ages evinces the fact; and in dissimilar circumstances, Mr. Wesley has made the trial. In kingdoms, where, as in the Roman Pantheon, every divinity had its altars, speculative deviations from the religion established by law, the singularity of love-feasts and nocturnal meetings, so unusual among the modern Christians of every denomination, roused the vigilance of the magistrate, and influenced the rage of the rabble. Now, that custom has rendered Mr. Wesley's meeting-houses and mode of worship familiar, and that all denominations enjoy a share of that religious liberty, whereof he would fain deprive his Roman Catholic neighbour, his matin hymns give no uneasiness either to the magistrate or his neighbours. But had Mr. Wesley raised his notes on the high key of *civil discordance*—had he attempted by his sermons, his writings, and exhortations, to deprive the bishops of the established religion, of their crosiers; kings of their thrones; and magistrates of the sword of justice; long ere now would his *pious labours* have been crowned with martyrdom, and his name registered in the calendar of *For's saints*. Such, unfortunately, was the case of John Huss. Not satisfied with overthrowing what was then the established religion, and le-

velling the fences of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he strikes at the root of all temporal power, and civil authority. He boldly asserts, that "Princes, magistrates, &c. in the state of mortal sin, are deprived *ipso facto* of all power and jurisdiction."* In this doctrine was enveloped the seeds of anarchy and sedition, which subsequent preachers unfolded, to the destruction of peace and tranquillity, almost all over Europe; and which Sir William Blackstone describes as follows: "The dreadful effects of such a religious bigotry, when actuated by erroneous principles, even of the Protestant kind, are sufficiently evident from the history of the Anabaptists† in

* See the acts of the council of Constance, in L'Abbe's Collection of Councils.

† This is no imputation on the Baptists of our days, who are as peaceable and good men as any others. Men's opinions change with the times, as in different stages of life we change our thoughts, and settle at the age of forty the roving imagination of sixteen. Custom, and mutual intercourse among fellow subjects of every denomination, would soon quench the remaining sparks of religious feuds, if distinctive laws were abolished. But, unfortunately for the society in which we live, the laws, whose aim should be to unite the inhabitants, are calculated to divide them. My neighbour distrusts me, because the penal laws held me forth as a reprobate before I was born, and, during my life, encourage him to seize my horse, or drag me before a magistrate, for saying my prayers; which reduces me to the sad necessity of hating him, or considering him as an enemy, if in the great struggle between nature and grace, religion does not

Germany, the Covenanters in Scotland, and the deluge of sectaries in England, who murdered their sovereign, overturned the church and monarchy, shook every pillar of law, justice, and private property, and most devoutly established a kingdom of saints in their stead."*

"John Huss, then, after broaching the above-mentioned doctrines, and making Bohemia the theatre of intestine war, is summoned to appear before the council. He obtains a safe conduct from the emperor Sigismund, commanding governors of provinces, &c. not to molest him on his journey to, or return from, Constance; but to afford him every aid and assistance. In all the provinces and cities through which he passes, he gives public notice of his intention to appear before the council, and stand his trial. But, instead of standing his trial, and retracting his er-

not triumph. Before Lewis the Fourteenth, and George the First, repealed the laws against witches, every disfigured old woman was in danger of her life, and considered as a sorceress. Since the *witch-making* laws have been repealed, there is not a witch in the land, and the dairy maid is not under the necessity of using counter charms to hinder the milk from being enchanted from her pail. Thus, if the penal laws, which by a kind of omnipotence create an original sin, making rogues of Catholics before they reach their hands to the tempting fruit, were once repealed, they would be as honest as their neighbours, and the objects of their love and confidence.

* Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. chap. 8.

rors, he attempts to make his escape, in order to disseminate, and make them take deeper root. He is arrested and confined, in order that he should take his trial, after having *violated* his promise, and abused a safe-conduct granted him for the purpose of exculpating himself, or retracting his errors, if proved against him before his competent judges. It is here to be remarked, that John Huss was an ecclesiastic; and that in spiritual cases, the bishops were his only and competent judges. The boundaries of the two powers, I mean the church and state, being kept distinct; the censer left to the pontiff, and the sword to the magistrate; the church confined to her spiritual weapons; privation of life and limb, and corporal punishments, being quite of the province of the state; one should not interfere with the other. As the body of the criminal is under the control of the magistrate, too jealous of his privilege to permit the church to interfere with his power;—so, erroneous doctrines are under the control of spiritual judges, too jealous of their prerogatives, to permit the civil magistrate to interfere with their rights.—Hence, when the partisans of Huss raised clamours about his confinement, and pleaded his safe-conduct, the council published the famous decree which has given rise to so many cavils, for the space of four hundred years, though thousands of laws of a more important nature, and of which we now think but little, have been published since that time. The coun-

cil declares, " That every *safe-conduct* granted by the emperor, kings, and other temporal princes, to heretics, or persons accused of heresy, ought not to be of any prejudice to the Catholic faith, or to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; nor to hinder that such persons may and ought to be examined, judged, and punished, according as justice shall require, if those heretics refuse to revoke their errors: and the person who shall have promised them security, shall not, in this case, be obliged to keep his promise, by whatever tie he may be engaged, because he has done all that is in his power to do." I appeal to the impartial public, Whether that declaration of the council does not regard the peculiar case of *safe-conducts*, granted by temporal princes, to persons who are liable to be tried by competent and independent tribunals? And, Whether it be not an insult to candour and common sense, to give it such a latitude as to extend it to every lawful promise, contract, or engagement, between man and man? As if the council of Constance meant to authorize me to buy my neighbour's goods, and after a solemn promise to pay him, still to keep his substance, and break my word. The church and state are two distinct and independent powers, each in its peculiar line.—A man is to be tried by the church for erroneous doctrines: a temporal prince grants this man a *safe-conduct*, to guard his person from any violence which may be offered him on his journey; and to procure him a fair and can-

did trial, on his appearance before his lawful judges. Has not this prince done all that is in his power to do? Doth his promise to such a man authorize him to interfere with a foreign and independent jurisdiction, or to usurp the rights of another? Do not the very words of the council, "Because he has done all that is in his power to do," prove that lawful promises are to be fulfilled?

"Such jurisconsults, whether Catholics or Protestants, such as Prenus, Speklam, and others, as I have accidentally read, concerning the nature of safe-conducts, lay down for a general rule, that they are never granted to suspend the execution of the laws. *Salvus conductus contra jus non datur*. It were nugatory in the emperor Sigismund, presumptive heir to a kingdom, which Huss's doctrine had changed into a theatre of intestine wars, to grant a safe-conduct, the meaning and sense whereof would be equivalent to the following pass: "Although you have set kingdoms in a blaze, by striking at the vitals of temporal authority, and overthrown the established religion of the land; yet go to Constance and come back, without appearing before your lawful judges, or retracting doctrines which have caused such disturbances in church and state." Safe-conducts, then, are not granted to screen delinquents from punishment, when legally convicted; much less, to countenance

disobedience to the laws, and disorder, by impunity.

“The council was the most competent judge of Huss’s doctrine, in which he stedfastly persevered. Neither king nor emperor could deprive the bishops of privileges inseparably annexed to their characters, viz. spiritual jurisdiction, and the right of judging doctrines. Huss was degraded, and retrenched, according to the usual formalities, from a communion from which he had separated himself before. This is all the bishops could have done: this they acknowledge after the sentence of Huss’s degradation was pronounced. “This sacred synod of Constance, considering that the church of Christ has nothing further that it can do, decrees to leave John Huss to the judgment of the state.” His execution was in consequence of the imperial laws, enforced by the civil magistrate, as the execution of heretics in England, and other Protestant states, has been in consequence of the imperial laws adopted by such powers. The Protestant clergy, as well as the clergy of Constance, decided upon points of doctrine, and went no farther.

“Thus we see, that this superannuated charge of *violation of faith with heretics*, resembles those nightly spectres which vanish upon a nearer approach. We find nothing in this council, relative to such a charge, but a dispute about

a pass granted to a man who goes to take his trial before judges whose jurisdiction could not be superseded. Or if we intend to do justice to men with the same eagerness that we are disposed to injure them, we must acknowledge that the fathers of that council condemned lies, frauds, perjury, and those horrors which Mr. Wesley would fain fix upon the Roman Catholics. The foundations then, on which Mr. Wesley has erected his aerial fabric, being once rapped, the superstructure must fall of course; and his long train of false and unchristian assertions are swept away as a *spider's web*, before the *wind* of logical rules. *From absurd premises follows an absurd conclusion."*

But still it will be asked, that admitting the fact, that the Catholic religion does not teach persecution, nor hold the tenet that no faith is to be kept with heretics, yet is there not a stronger bias in the spirit and discipline of that Church to persecution, than is found in any other? Detach that Church from the State, and I reply, there is not. I have mixed and associated with Catholics, and I can assert, without dread of contradiction, that I have found as much liberality of sentiment, as enlarged and a liberal freedom, and as great a spirit of toleration and Christian forbearance, as among other Christians holding the same general doctrines. It is true, they tell us, that future salvation is promised only to believers, by which, I am well aware,

they mean believers of their own description. But I should be glad to know how many denominations of Christians we can find that do not hold a similar opinion. Does not the Church of England tell us, that if we would be saved, we must believe the creed of St. Athanasius? Will any Calvinist, consistent with his principles, tell us that we may be saved whether we believe his doctrines or not? Nay, have not even the modest and liberal Quakers their line of distinction?—their disownments and their censures, and that on account of heresy, real or imaginary? The truth of the whole matter is this, and thus we all reason: “Who-soever would be saved, it is necessary to be of the true Church: *we* are the true Church; therefore, whosoever would be saved must be of our Church.” We may wrangle for ever about the exclusive spirit and the narrow bounds of popery; but, after all, it comes to this, even among most Protestants, that there is no salvation apart from *us*: “The Temple of the Lord are *WE*.” We all environ ourselves in a fortress of *fundamentals, essentials, indispensable articles*, and a thousand fancies of our own, and then call ourselves **THE CHURCH!** We become so many infallible bodies, and deal out our sentences of everlasting damnation with as much grace and ease as if we were distributing the bounties of a kind Providence. But it does not therefore follow, that any of us would persecute another to death, merely because we

think him in a dangerous error. The times of open persecution, I trust, are for ever past. Had Luther lived in our day, he would not have indulged narrow and selfish views: had Calvin now to deal with even Servetus, he would not resort to the argument of fire: had Socinus now to reason with Davidus, he would not thrust him into prison for not praying to a being whom he believed to be a mere man; and were the Catholics now restored to their former power, I feel confident they would not resort to the same violent measures which at one time so dreadfully disgraced them, and for which they now so severely suffer. The shameful disabilities under which Catholics and Dissenters still labour, will soon be removed—the voice of truth, of justice and humanity must and will be heard. These disabilities are supported, not by the genius of Protestantism, for the principles of our separation from the Church of Rome are at variance with all those arguments which are urged by an interested faction for a continuance of that system of intolerance which is so pertinaciously pursued against the just claims of the Irish Catholics. It is not a system wholly of a religious character—the men who persist in opposing the claims of Catholics and Dissenters, I am persuaded, care little about the religion of either. The system is a political one; they know that those persons, Catholics and others, who now feel themselves injured and insulted, on account of their religious opinions, are the

friends of civil liberty,—the enemies of interminable war, and courtly corruption; they know, that by enfranchising them in religious matters, they would at the same time be adding to their political influence, which, more than their faith, they dread. No men would be more tolerant in matters of religion than the “No Popery” men, if they did not fear that the consequences of granting religious liberty would be injurious to that line of politics which they think fit to pursue.

The same men who usurp the altars of our God, also sculk behind the throne of our King. They give us acts of parliament, which require twelve judges, and more than twelve times twelve lawyers to understand; and acts of faith and uniformity, which *nobody* can understand, and which are, indeed, productive of the greatest possible dissension.*

* The Dissenters of this country will not soon forget the Act which in one day ejected from their livings, TWO THOUSAND honest, pious, and learned Clergymen, because they would not subscribe to a book which many of them had never seen, which it was impossible they should have seen, and which those that did see, objected to on public and conscientious grounds.—They will never forget the festival of St. Bartholomew; and the No-Popery alarmists only add to their own shame, and awaken recollections which prudence should teach them rather to stifle, by mentioning the name of that unfortunate day, which they often do in their attacks on Catholics.

Yet, after all, it will be asked, have not the Catholics been the instigators of a thousand plots and massacres? and have they not made religion the pretext for the most savage barbarities? I will reply in the words of an ingenious Protestant :* " This heavy imputation, whether just or unjust, has long lain, and still lies, on this unfortunate people. It is a prejudice deeply rooted in the minds of Protestants, a matter so received and credited by all, as not once to be controverted or examined by any."

The Parisian massacre was a most cruel and barbarous piece of business, and sadly involved were even many priests, and other ecclesiastics, in the horrors of that tremendous night, when multitudes were butchered to gratify the cruelty and the diabolical policy of an infuriate woman, the artful Catherine de Medicis. " The prime authoress of the execrable plot of the Parisian massacre appears," says Mr. Comber,† " to have been

* Henry Brookes, Esq. author of the *Fool of Quality*, *Gustavus Vasa*, and many other curious and interesting works. See his book, entitled " *The Tryal of the Catholics*," p. 52. I wish every Protestant, before he brings his heavy charges against Catholics, would do himself and others the justice to read this amusing volume.

† *History of the Parisian Massacre*, by the Rev. Thomas Comber, A. B. p. 17. ; a work written expressly to bring odium on the Catholics, and to retard and prevent the claims of that oppressed people. I know not whether some apology should not be offered for my quoting from so execrable

Catherine, the queen-mother of Charles IX., king of France, in whose reign this bloody tragedy was acted; and, by herself, and by the ministry of her infernal creatures, she most artfully excited and inflamed the resentment and other bad passions of her son, by slow degrees, to the horrible execution of it." Now, if this dreadful business originated in the malignity of a woman, seconded by the culpable weakness of her son: or if, as this writer asserts, the family of the Guises be to be ranked among the chief instruments of this execrable design; nay, even if the surmises of Mr. Comber be correct, which is very problematical, that the whole Roman consistory knew and approved of this plot before its execution, and that, therefore, as he unjustly infers, "the generality of the popish nobility, magistrates, and military officers," were concerned in it, what, in the name of truth and justice, had the doctrines and the discipline—the religion—of Catholics to do with all this? How far is that religion concerned in any such wicked proceedings, otherwise than to condemn and ex-

creable a publication, and which the eloquent and truly ingenious Mr. Canning has lately so pointedly and properly reprobated in the House of Commons, as a work published with no other views than to keep alive disgraceful prejudices, and to excite the worst and most malignant passions of the human breast. If any apology be required, let it be found in my anxiety to shew, that no prejudice can at all times veil the truth, or uniformly distort obvious historical facts.

ecrate them? To that religion I appeal, false, unscriptural, and erroneous, as I most conscientiously believe it to be—I appeal to every man, whether Protestant or Catholic, who knows any thing at all of the matter, who has ever read a single page of the **ROMAN MISSAL**,* vulgarly denominated the Mass Book, in which

* Protestants, who are alarmed at the dangers of popery, always look for the religion of Catholics in stories of plots, massacres, burnings, and persecutions. Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, is to them a better guide than Challoner's *Garden of the Soul*, and Limburch's *History of the Inquisition*, than Thomas à Kempis's "*Imitation of Christ*." When we might imagine they would be reading manuals, litanies, catechisms, prayers, and sermons, we find them devouring with avidity records of the Inquisition, papal decretals, old Newgate calendars, acts of parliament, and histories of England! When they would know the faith of Catholics, they sit down immediately to such books as Smith's *Errors of the Church of Rome detected*; Benson's *Confutation of Popery*; Trapp's *Popery truly Stated and briefly confuted*; Baxter's *Naked Popery*; and, above all, to Don Antonio Gavin's *MASTER-KEY TO POPERY*! I will here indulge these disinterested inquirers by mentioning to them a little book, which they seem nearly to have overlooked, but in the perusal of which, I promise them ample gratification, in *their way*; it is entitled "*THE PROTESTANT ALMANACK, &c.*," wherein the bloody aspects, fatal oppositions, diabolical conjunctions, and pernicious revolutions, of the papacy against the Lord and his anointed, are described. Calculated according to art for the meridian of Babylon, where the Pope is elevated an hundred and fifty degrees above all reason, right, and religion; above kings, councils, conscience, and every thing called God, & *Thou*. & And may, without sensible error, indifferently serve the whole

papacy

is expressed or implied, every essential branch of the Catholic faith and worship—I appeal to the good sense and candour of even the enemies of the Catholic claims, whether there is any truth, honour, or justice in the cruel and disingenuous reflection of the author of the “*Parisian Massacre*,” where he asserts, that this bloody and Anti-Catholic proceeding was “*worthy of the Church of Rome*!” Mr. Comber, by this single expression, has shewn himself worthy of a much harsher term than the author of these sheets is willing to apply to him. If all Paris, if all Rome, nay, if the Pope himself approved of this plot, I contend that it was planned and executed in the very teeth of their religion; let those who can, disprove this, and shew, that the Roman Catholic religion numbers among its articles of faith, or rules of general discipline, the practice of persecution, and the principle of not keeping faith with heretics.

The Inquisition is thought to be an indispens-

papacy. By PHILOPROTEST, a well-wisher to the mathematics,” printed for the company of stationers. The impressions for several years, beginning A. D. 1690, are now in my possession. It is a curious medley of falsehood, just satire, and blasphemous ribaldry. A re-publication, and continuation, of this work, may consistently be recommended to the editor and publishers of the new and improved edition of Dr. Middleton’s Letter from Rome. It would be a capital companion to Francis Moore, Physician.

able branch of the religion of Catholics. It is, however, no such thing. That religion had existed many centuries before that hellish tribunal was thought of. It was an engine of state persecution, and took cognizance of other matters beside those immediately connected with religion. The Court of High Commission,—the Star Chamber of this country,—were just as much parts of the religion of Protestants, as the Inquisition of Spain is of the religion of Catholics; and it would be equally just, in writing against the faith of Protestants, to refer to the diabolical proceedings of those courts, as, in opposing the faith of Catholics, to reproach them with the deeds of the Inquisition. And, after all the wickedness and cruelty exercised by that tribunal, "it was not competent to pass sentence of death, or the loss of limbs, upon any person whatever."* It is not necessary, therefore, to add another word on this head; and if it were, it would be amply sufficient to say, that the Inquisition is now, for the most part, abolished; and, in fact, that many countries never introduced it, but opposed its cruel proceedings, and protested against its very existence.

I must now conclude this feeble and imperfect sketch. It was commenced with a sincere

* Dr. Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, p. 116.

and ardent hope of being able to describe with faithfulness, and therefore with usefulness, the history, faith, and worship, of a large portion of the Christian world; and in the execution of my design, I have always laboured to preserve an even and a steady hand. The subject on which I have treated in this last section, presented one of the most formidable obstacles to the undertaking; but I must here repeat, what has more than once been stated, that Catholicism and persecution ought not to be confounded together. If the religion of Catholics could, with justice, be identified with the Court of Rome, and with the general conduct of Catholic princes, then, indeed, frightful would be the picture, and painful the delineation.—Happily, this is not the case; nor is any Roman Catholic, in defending the purity of his faith, compelled to advocate the cause of persecution, tyranny, or oppression. From the days of Constantine the Great, to the age of Louis the XIV.,—from Pope Sylvester I. to Innocent XI., potentates and prelates have risen in succession, to support, by various means, the religion of Roman Catholics. Before the one, or since the other, little of open persecution was, or has been, resorted to; and it should never be forgotten, that numerous intermediate Catholic princes, priests, prelates, and people, have been eminent for their temperate, wise, and pious conduct. These are the persons who adorn their christian profession; and to them we should direct our attention for examples of the

genuine effects of Catholicism. It is strange, that Protestants do not thus reason.—It is passing strange, that we should be so exceedingly anxious to discover their blemishes, failings, and errors, and yet remain so indifferent to their virtues and their excellences! If, in the foregoing history, I have softened, in many cases, the darker shades of the picture, or have endeavoured to throw the more unsightly objects into the back-ground, it has not been without, what at least appeared to me, good and sufficient reasons,—it has arisen from a conviction that, in most cases, those objects are no essential parts of the painting; and that there are persons enough to be found, ready to bring them into full and prominent view. Too many writers of the Protestant church have already delineated the carbuncles, and other cachectical deformities, which time and improper treatment have produced on the face of the Roman Catholic Church. It was only just, that an attempt, at least, should be made to shew, that these deformities are, in fact, no natural appendages of the constitution; and that, however ugly the face may be in reality, it is not right to mistake the effects of age or of misfortune, for the original complexion and *contour* of the features.

Time, however, which has deformed, is now beginning to amend the whole frame and structure of the Christian world. Mankind are rapidly

advancing in knowledge and virtue.* The principles of civil and religious liberty, at all times inseparable, are making glorious progress in every country in Europe. Italy, once the seat of learning, science, and the arts, has experienced a long and gloomy night; her superstitions, however, are vanishing away, though her sons are trodden under foot by the despoiler of Europe. The Pope, and all the great dignitaries of the ancient papal government, are, it is true, writhing under the iron grasp of a military despot; but they will learn humility and obedience by their sufferings, and they will feel more genuine greatness in patiently enduring this "fight of afflictions," than they did, when they lost sight of their God and their religion, amidst the pomp and glare of princely honours and regal grandeur. Their present distresses, accompanied, as they are, with the new lights of science and philosophy, will soften and ameliorate their tempers. They will learn to practise, should their power revive,

* Roman Catholics have been accused of withholding the Scriptures from the people. At this time, however, the Sacred Writings are circulating among them in almost every shape. Fine, but very cheap, editions of the Douay Bible and the Rhemish Testament, are now publishing in weekly Numbers, for the convenience of the poorer classes of Catholics; and at the last public dinner (1812) of the friends and subscribers to the plans of the patriotic JOSEPH LANCASTER, into whose schools THE BIBLE ONLY is admitted, I had the pleasure to see the Earl of Fingall, Sir John Throckmorton, and other Catholics, whose names stand on the list of subscribers!

what their religion would always have taught them :—mercy and justice, humanity and benevolence. The poorer and inferior clergy, driven into exile by oppressors of their own church and communion, will learn to regard with fewer feelings of dislike and religious abhorrence the heretics by whom they were sheltered and maintained. When the storm is past, and the reign of peace returns, these priests will go back to their respective flocks, and teach them to be tolerant and charitable in their opinions concerning those to whom they, themselves, are under a load of gratitude and obligation. American freedom, and English hospitality, will have united with the piety of these emigrants to amend their characters, and soften their tempers. The men whom they would not injure in their persons they will learn to look upon as no longer objects of the Divine displeasure. Gratitude will concur with knowledge in convincing them, that as God is no respecter of persons, they should not condemn to future misery any man for his faith, his mistakes, or his worship.

Even Spain, dark and bigoted Spain, will “learn righteousness” in this general conflict. The noble and generous souls of the Spaniards will regard with detestation the Roman Catholic invaders of their country, while the intercourse which has been happily opened between them and us, must convince even the rudest monks of the Peninsula, that heretics in faith are often

much better men in practice, than military plunderers, who unite to the faith of saints the works of demons. The abolition of the feudal system, the reduction of the monks, and the destruction of the Inquisition, will ere long shew them, that their religion has not required for its support these engines of vassalage, slavery, and cruelty. They will soon abhor what they can do so well without, and which has cost them so much to maintain. They will return to the ancient simplicity of their religion, or else be converted to the more scriptural faith of their reformed neighbours.* The exclusive character of the Roman creed will not long operate on the minds of those who cannot live without Protestants, who would lose their country itself, were it not for the assistance afforded to them by men whom they have hitherto regarded as dangerous heretics.

* If the evil policy of our *No-popery* faction do not prevent it, there is every reason in the world to believe, that our intercourse with Spain will open the way, not only to a diffusion of the principles of civil liberty in that country, but also to a general spread of religious information, which, in the end, must have the most beneficial effects. Englishmen are every where treated with respect and esteem in Spain, and the form of our Constitution is warmly admired by many enlightened men there. See Sir John Carr's *Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain, and the Balearic Isles*, in 1809. There is an amiable and gentlemanly spirit manifest in all Sir John's publications, which renders him at once a useful and a pleasing writer. This last work of his is certainly the best specimen he has given of his talents as a descriptive tourist.

The patriots of Spanish America are doing wonders. Habits of reading and reflection; principles of true science and knowledge, are succeeding to the laziness and ignorance of monkish superstitions; and the spirit of rational freedom and manly independence is gaining ground among them.*

In this country alone, if we except some ephemeral proceedings of the Spanish Cortes, is a standard raised against the progress of religious liberty. That standard, however, is supported only by a feeble and dying faction, the

* These patriots, however, (like many others when they first burst the fetters of a degrading superstition) it is lamentable to observe, do not content themselves, with casting off what is obviously erroneous: many of them are, it is to be feared, in danger of exchanging their old faith for the cold and cheerless creed of Voltaire and Paine. *The Age of Reason*, one of the most contemptible of all contemptible attacks on the religion of Christ, is, I understand, a great favourite with these American philosophers; and the *Rights of Man*, a book equally inapplicable to their present state, and as base, I have no hesitation in believing, in its object as even the *Age of Reason* itself, is also read and admired by some of them. But these accidents of a Revolution like this cannot have any very lasting effect on a whole people. They will soon discover, that Deism is ill-calculated to promote the morals and happiness of a state, and that sheer democracy is but a miserable substitute for a firm and useful government. Rational Christianity, and a mixed constitution like our own, are, perhaps, the only grounds of security to a great and free people; and such, I have no doubt, the natives of Spanish America will one day become.

symptoms, of whose dissolution increase daily. With evident reluctance, but from an irresistible impulse, point after point is conceded. Every session of our Parliament acquires great accessions of strength to the cause of truth and charity. Let but the Catholics of Ireland, and the Dissenters of England unite as one man against the mistaken forces of intolerance, and by a moderate but steady application—by reiterated petitions, constitutionally obtained; and respectfully presented, continue to thunder in the ears of their oppressors the cry of liberty and emancipation, and they *must* at length be heard. So sure as the bloody trade in human beings fell by these means—so certain as the British Constitution possesses within itself the power of accomplishing its own reform, even so must the demands of Catholics and Dissenters be complied with. Only let us not fall out by the way—a grand and noble object is to be attained, and it is to be attained by means honourable in their nature, and certain in their effects: let us not thwart them by intemperance, nor retard them by imprudence.

It requires no supernatural powers of prophecy to discern, that we are fast approaching a new and distinguished era. Light breaks in on every side. The mouldering walls of bigotry and superstition are daily sinking—"Corruption is exhausting the means of Corruption." Intolerance is, itself, forcing the doors of religious ex-

elusions; and the opposition that is made to the freedom of man tends but to elicit new arguments in his favour—new reasons for his enfranchisement.

APPENDIX.

A concise View of the Laws now in force relating to the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland, interspersed with occasional remarks.

THE following summary of laws relating to Roman Catholics has been collected, principally, from Mr. Butler's Historical Account of the Laws against the Roman Catholics of England; and from the "Statement of the Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland,"* to which I have added such variations and occasional remarks as obviously presented themselves. It is unnecessary to make many comments upon the disgraceful nature and injurious tendency of these laws: they are standing monuments of the fatal effects of mistake and prejudice; and a consideration of them should at least silence the cry of Protestants against popish intolerance and persecution.

The following Statement, says Mr. Butler, may be found to give—I. Some account of the laws, which, since the Reformation, have been past against the Roman Catholics. II. Some account of the effect and operation of the laws, which have been past, since the accession of His Majesty's family to the throne of England, for the relief of Roman Catholics. III. And some account of the penal laws, the effect of which is felt by Roman Catholics, but the effect of which is not felt by Protestant Dissenters.

* In making use of these books, I have the consent and approbation of their respective authors; and I take this opportunity of thanking them for this and other instances of their kindness.

I.

With respect to the laws, which, since the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, at the time of the Reformation, have been past against those who remained in communion with the See of Rome—the laws against them may be reduced under five heads:—

I. 1. The first, are *those, which subjected them to penalties and punishments for exercising their religious worship*;—under which head, may be ranked, the laws respecting their places of education, and the ministers of their church. By these laws, if any English priest of the church of Rome, born in the dominions of the crown of England, came to England from beyond the seas, or tarried in England three days, without conforming to the church, he was guilty of high treason, and those incurred the guilt of high treason, who were reconciled to the see of Rome, or procured others to be reconciled to it. By these laws also, papists were totally disabled from giving their children any education in their own religion; for, if they educated their children at home, then, for maintaining the schoolmaster, if he did not repair to church, or was not allowed by the bishop of the diocese, they were liable to forfeit 10l. a month, and the schoolmaster was liable to forfeit forty shillings a day; and if they sent their children for education to any school of their persuasion abroad, they were liable to forfeit 100l. and the children so sent were disabled from inheriting, purchasing or enjoying any lands, profits, goods, debts, duties, legacies, or sums of money.—Saying mass was punishable by a forfeiture of 200 marks: hearing it, by a forfeiture of 100. See 1 Eliz. ch. 2. 23. Eliz. ch. 1. 27 Eliz. ch. 2. 29 Eliz. ch. 3. 35 Eliz. ch. 2. 2 Jac. 1. ch. 4. 3 Jac. 1. ch. 4, 5. 7 Jac. 1. ch. 6. 3 Car. 1. ch. 2. 25 Car. 2. ch. 2. 7 and 8 W. 3. ch. 27. 1 Geo. 1. ch. 13.

I. 2. Under the second head, were those laws, which punished the English communicants with the church of Rome *for not conforming to the established church*. These are generally called the Statutes of Recusancy. It should be observed, that absence from church, alone, and unaccompanied by any other act, constitutes recusancy, in the true sense of that

word. Till the statute of the 35 Eliz. chap. 2., all nonconformists were considered as recusants, and were all equally subject to the penalties of recusancy: that statute was the first penal statute made against popish recusants, by that name, and as distinguished from other recusants. From that statute arose the distinction between protestant and popish recusants; the former were subject to such statutes of recusancy, as preceded that of the 35th of queen Elizabeth, and to some statutes against recusancy, made subsequently to that time; but they were relieved from them all, by the Act of Toleration in the first year of king William's reign.* From the 35th Eliz. ch. 2. arose also the distinction, between papists and persons professing the popish religion, and popish recusants, and popish recusants convict. Notwithstanding the frequent mention in the statutes of papists and persons professing the popish religion, neither the statutes themselves, nor the cases adjudged upon them, present a clear notion of the acts or circumstances that, in the eye of the law, constituted a *papist*, or a *person*

* This is true only of such Protestant recusants as subscribe to the following "*Profession of Christian belief*:" "I, A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." See § 13. of the Toleration Act. Sect. 17 of the same act provides, "That neither this act, nor any clause, article, or thing herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to give any ease, benefit, or advantage, to any papist, or popish recusant whatsoever; OF ANY PERSON WHO SHALL DENY, IN HIS PREACHING OR WRITING, THE DOCTRINE OF THE BLESSED TRINITY, as it is declared in the aforesaid articles of religion;" referring to § 13 above quoted. The reader will find some remarks on this clause in the *Protestant Dissenters' Almanack*, for the year 1810, at that time published under my superintendence. I am happy to find, that Mr. W. Smith, one of the most liberal and patriotic members of the House of Commons, has just given notice of his intention to attempt a repeal of this most scandalous and disgraceful clause of the act, by a strange misnomer, called the *Toleration Act*. On the day (July 15, of the present year, 1812) fixed for Mr. Smith's notice, there were so few members present, that they *could not make a house*, as they phrase it; so little interest do many of our worthy representatives feel in the subject of religious toleration!

professing the popish religion. When a person of that description absented himself from church, he filled the legal description of a *popish recusant*: When he was convicted in a court of law of absenting himself from church, he was termed in the law a *popish recusant convict*. To this must be added the *constructive recusancy* hereinafter mentioned to be incurred by a refusal to take the oath of supremacy.—With respect to the statutes against recusancy, by these statutes, popish recusants convict were punishable by the censures of the church, and by a fine of 20l. for every month, during which they absented themselves from church; they were disabled from holding offices or employments; from keeping arms in their houses; from maintaining actions or suits at law or in equity; from being executors or guardians; from presenting to advowsons; from practising in the law or physic; and from holding offices, civil or military; they were subject to the penalties attending excommunication, were not permitted to travel five miles from home, unless by license, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods; and might not come to court under pain of 100l. A married woman, when convicted of recusancy, was liable to forfeit two thirds of her dower or jointure: she could not be executrix or administratrix to her husband, nor have any part of his goods; and, during her marriage, she might be kept in prison, unless her husband redeemed her at the rate of 10l. a month, or the third part of his lands. Popish recusants convict were, within three months after conviction, either to submit and renounce their religious opinions, or, if required by four justices, to abjure the realm; and if they did not depart, or if they returned without license, they were guilty of felony, and were to suffer death as felons.—(See the statutes referred to under the former head.)

I. 3. *As to the penalties or disabilities attending the refusal of Roman catholics to take the oath of supremacy, the declaration against transubstantiation, and the declaration against popery:* it must be premised, that the Roman catholics make no objection to take the *Oath of Allegiance*, 1 G. 2. c. 13. or the *Oath of Abjuration*, 6 Geo. 3. c. 53.—*With respect to the Oath of Supremacy*,—by the 1st Elizabeth, ch. 1. the persons therein mentioned were made compellable to take the Oath

of Supremacy contained in that act: by the 3d of king James the 1st, ch. 4. another oath was prescribed to be taken, commonly called the Oath of Allegiance and Obedience: these oaths were abrogated by the 1st of king William and queen Mary, sess. 1. ch. 8., and a new oath of allegiance, and a new oath of supremacy were introduced, and required to be taken in their stead: the statute made in the 2d session of the 1st year of king George the 1st, ch. 18, contains an oath of supremacy, in the same words as the oath of supremacy required to be taken by the 1st of king William and queen Mary. By that oath, persons are made to swear, that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, supremacy, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the realm." It was required to be taken by the persons therein named; it might be tendered to any person, by any two justices of the peace; and persons refusing the oath so tendered were adjudged to be popish recusants convict, and to forfeit and be proceeded against as such. This was the *Constructive Recusancy* referred to above. It was not the offence itself of recusancy, which, as we have already observed, consisted merely in the party's absenting himself from church; it was the offence of not taking the oath of supremacy, and the other oaths prescribed by the act of 1 Geo. 1., the refusal of which, was, by that statute, placed on the same footing, as a legal conviction on the statutes of recusancy, and subjected the party refusing to the penalties of those statutes. This was the most severe of all the laws against papists: The punishment of recusancy was penal in the extreme; and the persons objecting to the oath in question, might be subjected to all the penalties of recusancy, merely by their refusing the oath, when tendered to them. It added to the penal nature of these laws, that the oath in question might be tendered, at the mere will of two justices of peace, without any previous information or complaint before a magistrate, or any other person. Thus, by refusing to take the oath of supremacy, when tendered to them, they became liable to all the penalties of recusancy; and the same refusal, by 7 and 8 Wm. 3. ch. 4. and 1 Geo.

1. *et* 2. *ch.* 13. restrained them from practising the law as advocates, barristers, solicitors, attorneys, notaries, or proctors, and from voting at elections.

I. 4. With respect to receiving the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper: By the 13 *Cha.* 2. (commonly called the *Corporation Act*), no persons can be legally elected to any office, relating to the government of any city or corporation, unless within a twelvemonth before he has received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the church of England;* and he is also enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, at the same time that he takes the oath of office, or, in default of either of these requisites, such election shall be void.

I. 5. As to the Declaration against Transubstantiation: By

* Protestant dissenters who so far conform, (and I am sorry to add, we have a few who act thus inconsistently) in order that they may enjoy certain honorary or lucrative offices, may justly be reproached with making a *gain of godliness*. Yet a Protestant dissenter may have a seat in the house of commons, who cannot, honourably, be a petty justice of the peace! William Smith, Esq. the member for Norwich, is a professed dissenter, and an Unitarian, so also is Benjamin Hobhouse, Esq. member for Hindon. Mr. Wilberforce is a zealous Calvinist, and a member of several societies, principally under the direction of dissenters; and the same may be said of the Thorntons, and several other persons, who make a point of voting with the pious member for Yorkshire. Thomas Thompson, Esq. member for Midhurst, is a Wesleyan Methodist, an occasional writer in the *Methodist Magazine*, and a **LOCAL PREACHER**!! Mr. Halhed, lately also a Member of the house of commons, was a believer in Richard Brothers, the mad Prophet! This most extraordinary gentleman was, in the early part of his life, an unbeliever, and had attempted to invalidate the truths of holy writ by arguments deduced from Indian chronology. He is described as one of the profoundest oriental scholars then living. The study of Indian mythology brought him back to Christianity, and by a strange perversion of intellect, the Trimourtee of the Hindoos convinced him of the doctrine of the Trinity; and as he recovered his faith he lost his wits: for he published a book in defence of Brothers, and when that unhappy prophet was sent to prison, instead of to Bedlam, Mr. Halhed made an excellent speech in the House of Commons on the injustice and impolicy of that measure. See *Letters from England*, by DON MANUEL ALVAREZ ESPRIELLA, (Robert Southey) Vol. III. Letter 69. Our parliament is, therefore, liberal towards all sorts of Christians except Roman Catholics!!!

the 25th Car. 2. ch. 2. (commonly called the *Tess Act*), all officers, civil and military, are directed to take the oath, and make the declaration against transubstantiation, in the Court of King's Bench or Chancery, the next term, or at the next quarter sessions, or (by subsequent statutes) within six months after their admission, and also, within the same time, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, in some public church, immediately after divine service and sermon; and to deliver into court a certificate thereof, signed by the minister and churchwarden; and also to prove the same, by two credible witnesses, upon forfeiture of 500*l.* and disability to hold the office.

I. 6. *With respect to the declaration against popery*: The act past in the 30th year of Car. 2. st. 2. ch. 1. contains the declaration, and prescribes it to be made, by members of either house of parliament, before they take their seats. By it, they declare their disbelief of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and their belief, that the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, are idolatrous.

I. 7. *With respect to the laws affecting their landed property*:—How this was affected by the laws against recusancy, has been already mentioned. By the 11 and 12 W. 3. ch. 4., it was enacted, that a person educated in the popish religion, or professing the same, who did not in six months, after the age of sixteen, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration of the 30th Cha. 2., should, in respect of himself only, and not of his heirs or posterity, be disabled to inherit, or take lands by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder: and that, during his life, till he took the oath, and subscribed the declaration against popery, his next of kin, who was a protestant, should enjoy the lands, without accounting for the profits; and should be incapable of purchasing; and that all estates, terms, interests, or profits out of lands made, done, or suffered to his use, or in trust for him, should be void. By 3 Jac. 1. ch. 5. 1 W. & M. c. 26. 12 Anne, st. 2. c. 14. and 11 Geo. 2. c. 17., papists, or persons professing the popish religion, were disabled from presenting to advowsons,

and other ecclesiastical benefices, and to hospitals and other charitable establishments. By annual acts of the legislature, papists being of the age of 16 years, and not having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, were subjected to the burden of the double land-tax. By a statute made in the second session of the 1st year of Geo. 1. ch. 55. they were required to register their names and estates in the manner, and under the penalties therein mentioned; and by the 3d Geo. 1. c. 18. continued by several subsequent statutes, an obligation of enrolling their deeds and wills was imposed on them. Such were the principal penal laws against Roman catholics, *immensus altorum super alias auctoritarum legum cumulus* (Liv. 3. 34.), at the time of the accession of the house of Brunswick.

II.

With respect to the Laws which have been past, since the accession of the Brunswick family, for the relief of Roman Catholics :—

II. 1. The only act of any importance, which, till the reign of his present Majesty, was past for their relief, (and that operated but in an indirect manner for their benefit), was the act of the 3d Geo. 1. c. 18. On the construction of the 11 and 12 Wm. 3. ch. 4. it had been held, that, as it expressly confined the disability of papists to take by descent to themselves only, and preserved their heirs and posterity from its operation, it was not to be construed as preventing the vesting of the freehold and inheritance in them, in case of descent, or transmitting them to their posterity: but that the disability respected only the permanency of the profits, or beneficial property of the lands, of which it deprived them, during their non-conformity. Whether that part of the statute, which relates to their taking by purchase, should receive the same construction, was a frequent subject of discussion, the statute being, in that branch of it, without any limitation. To remedy this, the act, we are speaking of, was past. It enacts, that, no sale for a full and valuable consideration, by the owner or reputed owner of any lands, or of any interest therein, theretofore made, or thereafter to be

made, to a protestant purchaser, shall be impeached, by reason of any disability of such papist, or of any person under whom he claims, in consequence of the 11 & 12 W. 3., unless the person taking advantage of this disability, shall have recovered before the sale, or given notice of his claim to the purchaser, or before the contract for sale, shall have entered his claim at the quarter sessions, and *bona fide* pursued his remedy. The act then recites the clauses of the 12 & 13 W. 3. disabling papists from purchasing; and afterwards enacts, that, those clauses shall not be thereby altered or repealed, but shall remain in full force. Thus the laws against the Roman Catholics stood, at the time of the accession of his present Majesty. During his reign, two or three acts, of great importance, have been past in their favour.

II. 2. *By the 18th of his reign*, ch. 60. it was enacted, that, so much of the 11 & 12 W. 3. as related to the prosecution of popish priests, and jesuits, and imprisoning for life papists, who keep schools, or to disable papists from taking by descent or purchase, should be repealed, as to all papists or persons professing the popish religion, claiming under titles not theretofore litigated, who, within six months after the act past, or their coming of age, should take the oath thereby prescribed.

II. 3. *With respect to the act of the 31st of his present Majesty*, cap. 32. That statute may be divided into six parts: The 1st, contains the declaration and oath afterwards referred to in the body of the act, and prescribes the method of taking it: The 2d, is a repeal of the statutes of recusancy, in favour of persons taking the oath thereby prescribed: The 3d, is a toleration, under certain regulations, of the religious worship of the Roman Catholics, qualifying in like manner, and of their schools for education: The 4th, enacts, that, in future no one shall be summoned to take the oath of supremacy prescribed by the 1st Wm. and Mary, sect. 1. c. 8. and 1st Geo. I. sect. 2. cap. 18. or the declaration against transubstantiation required by the 25th Ch. 2.;—that the 1st Wm. & Mary, sect. 1. ch. 9. for removing papists or reputed papists from the cities of London and Westminster, shall not extend to Roman Catholics, taking the appointed oath;—and

that, no peer of Great Britain or Ireland, taking that oath, shall be liable to be prosecuted for coming into his Majesty's presence, or into the court or house where his Majesty resides, under the 30th Car. 2. stat. 2. ch. 1. : The 5th part of the act, repeals the laws requiring the deeds and wills of Roman Catholics to be registered or enrolled : The 6th dispenses any person acting as a counsellor at law, barrister, attorney, clerk, or notary, from taking the oath of supremacy or the declaration against transubstantiation.—Then the double land tax being imposed on them by the annual land tax act, a repeal of it could not be effected by any prospective act : but it was repealed by omitting from the annual land tax act, the clause imposing it.

II. 4. An alteration, which was made in the house of lords in the act of the 31st of his present Majesty, during its passage through that house, raised a doubt, whether to entitle a Roman Catholic, to the benefits of the act of the 18th of his present Majesty, it was not necessary that he should take the oath prescribed by that act, as well as the oath prescribed by the 31st of his present Majesty. To obviate this doubt, the act of the 48th of his present Majesty was past, which entitles persons taking the oath prescribed by that act to all the benefits of the act of the 18th of his Majesty.

III.

Some account of the Penal Laws, the effect of which is felt by Roman Catholics, but the effect of which is not felt by Protestant Dissenters :—

III. It has been already shewn, how the law stands on the corporation and test acts.—The statute of the 1st William and Mary, (commonly called the toleration act), exempts all dissenters, except papists, and such as deny the Trinity, from all penal laws relating to religion, provided they take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against popery, and repair to some congregation registered in the bishop's court, or at the sessions. But there is nothing in this act, which dispenses either with the test act or the corporation act, so far as they impose the obligation of receiving the sacrament of our Lord's supper on persons serv-

ing in offices, or elected to serve in corporations. With respect, therefore, to the *test act and corporation act*, these are the only acts which subject the Protestant dissenters to any penalties or disabilities. To these the Roman Catholics are subject equally with the Protestant dissenters. There is, therefore, no penalty or disability that affects the Protestant dissenters, to which Roman Catholics are not subject equally; but there still remain several penal laws, the effect of which is most severely felt by Roman Catholics, but the effect of which is not, in any manner, felt by Protestant dissenters.

III. 1. The first of these is the 30th Car. 2. st. 2. c. 1.—It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the change of the national religion, at the Reformation, and the contests and dissensions which succeeded it, Roman Catholic peers were admitted, equally with their fellow peers, to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and Roman Catholic commoners were eligible, equally with their fellow commoners, to a seat in the house of commons, till the lapse of a century and an half from the time of the Reformation. The statute of which we are now speaking, was then enacted. It was past, while the ferment of Oates's plot was at its highest; and provided, *that no person should sit or vote in the house of peers, or be a member of, or sit or vote in the house of commons, till he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made and signed the declaration against popery.* To this statute only, the exclusion of Roman Catholic peers from their hereditary seats in parliament, and the exclusion of Roman Catholic Commoners from the natural and laudable ambition of an English gentleman, a seat in the house of commons are owing.

III. 2. By the 7th and 8th of Wm. 3. ch. 27. those who refuse to take the oath of supremacy, tendered to them at the requisition of a candidate, are *disabled from voting at elections.*

III. 3. By several statutes, *Roman Catholics* are disabled from *presenting to advowsons.* This disability is peculiar to them; Quakers, and even Jews, having the full enjoyment of the right of presentation. It is to be observed, that, no person can be presented to a living, who has not been ordained according to the rites of the Church of England. Previously to his or-

dination, he is examined, on his faith and morals, by the Bishop; he takes the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribes the 39 articles; and previously to his admission, he subscribes the three articles respecting the supremacy, the Common Prayer, and the 39 articles: and he makes the declaration of conformity. By the act of uniformity, 15 and 14 Car. 2. c. 4. he is bound to use the Common Prayer, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. These appear to be sufficient guarantees for the orthodoxy of the person presented.

III. 4. It has been observed that, in common with Protestant dissenters, the Roman Catholics are subject to the 13 Car. 2. c. 1., commonly called the Corporation Act, and to the 25 Car. 2. c. 2., commonly called the Test Act, the former of which excludes from Corporations, persons who have not taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and received the sacrament of our Lord's supper; and the latter of which directs all officers, civil and military, to qualify for their offices, in the same manner.—But *Roman Catholics alone feel the penal operation of 1 Geo. 1. st. 2. c. 13.*, which requires all persons bearing offices civil or military, or holding command or place of trust, or receiving pay or wages by reason of any patent or grant from his Majesty, to take that oath under a penalty of 500l. and under other penalties.

The very small number of those, who qualify themselves for election into corporations, or for civil or military offices, by complying with the requisites of these acts, is known. For their relief, an act of parliament is annually past, by which, after mentioning the Corporation and Test Acts, and some other acts, which do not relate to the point under consideration, it is enacted, that persons, who, before the passing of the act, have omitted to qualify in the manner prescribed by those acts, and who shall properly qualify for them, before the 25th of the ensuing December, shall be indemnified against all penalties, forfeitures, incapacities, and disabilities; and their elections, and the acts done by them, are declared to be good.—This act expresses nothing, which excludes Roman Catholics from the benefit of its provisions.

The construction of it came into consideration in 1798, when

Lord Petre,* having, with the express leave and encouragement of government, raised, equipped, and trained, at his own expense, a corps of 250 men, for His Majesty's service, requested that his son might be appointed to the command of them, and his son's religion was objected to him. It was admitted, that, by accepting the command of the corps, without complying with the provisions of the acts in question, Mr. Petre would subject himself to their penalties; but it was observed, that the appointment would be good; that the penalties would not be incurred till the expiration of the sixth month after his appointment; and that the annual act of indemnity would pass before that time, and remove the penalties. It was also suggested, that Protestants and Roman Catholics stood, in this respect, exactly in the same predicament;—both equally liable to the operation of the penal acts, and both equally within the relief of the indemnity act. The late Mr. Serjeant Hill, and the present Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, were decidedly of this opinion; but (under the advice, as it is said, of the crown lawyers), the refusal was persisted in; another person was appointed to the command of the corps, and Mr. Petre served under him in the ranks.

III. 5. In common with the rest of His Majesty's subjects, the Roman Catholics contribute to the religious establishment of the country; but their own *religious establishments* can only be effected through the medium of trusts, always perplexing, and always precarious. In hospitals, workhouses, and other public institutions, the attendance of the ministers of their religion is sometimes denied them; and the children of the

* Speaking of this amiable nobleman, Mr. Wakefield observes, that "for a considerable time he resided in his neighbourhood, and if ever a man were exemplary as an indulgent and excellent father; a firm and persevering friend, a liberal and enlightened member of society, this was the man." *Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, vol. II. p. 639. Mr. Good, a writer of distinguished merit and talent, describes his lordship as dying "lamented by the lower ranks of life, which he benefited, and the higher which he adorned." See the very interesting *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL.D.* by JOHN MASON GOOD, p. 496.

poor, sometimes forced into Protestant schools, under the eyes of their parents.

III. 6. The *Marriage act* is also a grievance to Roman Catholics.—For several reasons, too long to be enumerated, it is painfully repugnant to their religious feelings to have their marriages celebrated in the manner now prescribed by law. But they do not object to its being rendered necessary, for the legal validity of their marriages, that there should be an entry of them in the register of the parish, or to any other regular authentication of their marriages, which government can reasonably require.

III. 7. Though His Majesty's armies and fleets are filled with Roman Catholics, not only no provision is made for the religious duties and comforts of Roman Catholic soldiers and sailors, but by the *Articles of War*, they are liable to the very heaviest pains and punishments for refusing to join in those acts of religious worship, which a Roman Catholic considers to amount to an exterior dereliction of his faith, and a compliance with which, they therefore feel a religious torture. By the *Articles of War*, sec. 1., if any soldier absent himself from Divine Service and Sermon, in the place appointed, he is liable, for the first offence, to forfeit 12d.; and for the second, and every other offence, to forfeit 12d. and be put in irons; and by the same articles, section 2. art. 5., "if he shall disobey any lawful command of his superior officer,"—(and, of course, if he shall disobey any lawful command of his superior officer to attend Divine Service and Sermon),—"he shall suffer death, or such other punishment as by a general court martial shall be awarded."

III. 8. The operation of the *Test Act*, of the *Articles of War*, and of the *Mutiny Act*, in the instances we have mentioned, so far as they respect Irish Roman Catholic officers, soldiers, and sailors, deserves particular consideration. The Irish Act of 1793 admitted Catholics into military employments with certain exceptions.

Such are the laws regarding the Catholics of England. Those of Ireland will be found far

more oppressive and insulting. In order to give as clear a view of them as the nature of this undertaking will admit of, I shall, with some variations for the sake of brevity, follow the arrangement adopted in the "Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland."*

Laws affecting the Catholic Clergy, and the Exercise of their religious Functions, &c.

By a statute enacted in 1708,† it is declared that if any popish priest shall celebrate matrimony between any two persons, knowing that they or either of them is, of the Protestant religion, he shall suffer the punishment of a popish regular.‡ The statute 1710§ prescribes a rule of evidence on this subject not very conformable to the dictates of ordinary justice. It is in these words: "Upon every prosecution of a popish priest for the above-mentioned offence, it shall be presumed, allowed, and concluded, to all intents and purposes, that the priest so accused did celebrate such marriage, knowing that one or both of the parties was or were of the Protestant religion—Unless he shall produce a certificate under the hand and seal of the minister of the parish where the parties resided, certifying that such person was not a Protestant at the time of the marriage." In 1750,|| a third statute was passed, one clause of which declares that any priest who shall celebrate such marriage, shall on conviction be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly. This cruel and oppressive law was

* The reader will probably find, in what follows, occasionally some slight repetition of statements and references; but this, in some respects, is unavoidable.

† 6 Anne, c. 16. § 6.

‡ According to statute 9 Will. 3. c. 1. a popish regular was punished with transportation, and condemned as if for high treason, if he returned to Ireland.

§ 8 Anne, c. 3. sec. 26.

|| 23 Geo. 2. c. 10.

continued in full force by the statute enacted in 1792,* which permits intermarriages between Catholics and Protestants; and in the statute 1793, professing to give extensive relief to the Catholics, the celebration of marriage forms one of the numerous exceptions which have been re-enacted. This act provides, "That nothing therein contained shall be construed to extend to authorize any popish priest or reputed popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any Protestant (or one professed within twelvemonths to be so) and a papist, unless such protestant and papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the protestant religion." And in another clause of the same act it is declared that every popish priest celebrating such marriage, shall forfeit the sum of 500*l.* to His Majesty upon conviction thereof."

Such are the terms of the last act passed either by the Irish or British legislature relative to this subject. At first it was imagined that the former acts, in so far at least as regarded the punishment of death, were virtually rescinded by the infiction of the penalty. A contrary doctrine, however, has been adopted in several cases by the highest law authority. In particular the late unfortunate Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench in Ireland, declared on the bench, in the prosecution, *Boyton against the Rev. Mr. G—* and others, that this offence continues to be punishable with death under the popery laws.

The subject, which next seems to claim notice in this section, relates to the penalties to which catholic priests are liable for refusing to divulge the secrets of private confession, confided to them by their penitents. On this point it is decreed by the General Council of the Lateran, held in 1215, under Pope Innocent—"that an inviolable secrecy attaches to the sacramental profession, that the confessor is bound to suffer death rather than reveal (by word or sign, directly or indirectly) any sin or crime, or any circumstance attending them, mentioned by the penitent in confession; and that if

* 52 Geo. 3. c. 21, sec. 13.

any confessor break the trust reposed in him, he shall be immediately deprived of his sacerdotal functions, and be condemned to perpetual penance. Such being the catholic doctrine relative to confession, how dreadful in its consequences to morality, and abhorrent in its nature to every principle of sound reason, must that law be which inflicts the punishment of imprisonment on those who will not abjure the most solemn ties of their religion, and divulge those secrets they are bound to keep close within their own breast! The inquisition itself does not certainly present a system more tyrannical and oppressive, or more truly deserving the detestation of every liberal and enlightened mind, than the practice authorized by the law of compelling the catholic clergy to deliver, as evidence in courts of judicature, the spiritual acknowledgments of any individual among their flocks. Is it not then matter of astonishment that such a practice actually exists at this moment in Ireland, and that several catholic priests have within these few years, suffered the most rigorous treatment, even from judges in the higher courts, for no other crime but that of refusing to sacrifice to their wishes the conscientious feelings of morality, honour and religion?*

The catholic clergy are further aggrieved as being liable to punishment in a civil action for excommunicating unworthy members of their own communion. In defense of this law, it is said that the catholic clergy frequently make excommunication the punishment of very trivial offences. This, however, is not the fact, nor is the punishment itself so grievous as is generally imagined. In truth it amounts to no more than the "separation of a christian leading a disorderly life, disgracing his profession, from the christian congregation, and the banishment of such person from the

* This conduct towards the catholic clergy must appear particularly oppressive and insulting, when it is considered that barristers and attorneys are exempted from any obligation to answer questions tending to disclose any confidence reposed in them by their clients. Indeed, they are not even permitted to reply to such questions, even though they should be so inclined.—*Peake's Evidence*, 177—8.

church." It does not in the smallest degree affect his temporal concerns more than the removal of a member of any other religious society. An excommunicated catholic retains his full claim to all the offices of charity, to relief in his necessities, to employment for his industry, and, in fine, to the maintenance of all the ordinary relations of life. Is it fair, then, that the catholic clergy should not have the power, which every other religious sect enjoys, of expelling unworthy members from their spiritual communion, into which none ought to be admitted but such as are pure of heart? Certainly not. Yet it is a fact that many decisions exist, of recent date, declaring this species of jurisdiction obnoxious to the laws, and punishable equally with defamation.

While every other denomination of religionists are protected by an express act of parliament from any disturbance during the exercise of their public worship, the catholic is left exposed to insult from any individual, or set of individuals who may be audacious enough to attempt it. This observation, it ought to be remarked, is only applicable to Ireland, for in England the catholic worship is equally protected as the worship of dissenters.*

The catholic clergyman, who is bound by his vows to a life of celibacy, and is usually in narrow circumstances, is nevertheless held liable to the payment of the bachelor tax, which was, doubtless, intended to bear against persons more able to contribute to the public revenue, and more likely to be compelled by it to enter into matrimony. The extreme hardship of this tax must be evident to every one. It is a tax upon religious conscience, and of course a violation of the Toleration Act.

Again, the Catholic priest, in times of public commotion, is compelled to perform the duties of a peace officer. On an occurrence of this kind the legal magistrate taking it for granted that the catholic clergyman is acquainted with all the secrets of his parishioners, immediately applies to him, and informs him, probably in a menacing tone, that he holds him responsible for their good conduct and loyalty. He requires him to devote his time and attention to the discover-

* 31 Geo. III. cap. 32.

ing stolen property, denouncing felons, advertising rewards, &c., matters with which the clerical profession ought to have no concern. Should he refuse the ungrateful task, his personal safety is endangered; and even should he perform it with the utmost faithfulness, and make useful discoveries, no compensation, profit or reward await him; not even barren thanks or approbation.

Neither does the law permit the permanent endowment of any catholic clergymen,* house of worship, school house, or other pious or charitable foundation for catholics. Nay, not only does it prohibit such endowments, but it compels the poor depressed catholic to support the clergy of the protestant establishment, and contribute his full share to the maintenance of their churches,† as well as of their institutions for education, and the relief of the poor. Moreover, no person, whether catholic or not, can give or grant any lands, money, or other property, for any of the purposes above-mentioned, as all such gifts or grants are illegal, both by ancient statute and by the general policy of the law with regard to catholics. How dreadful the imputation against protestants, that they take delight in crushing the efforts of benevolence, and debasing the human understanding! How strange that the supposed persecuting spirit of catholicism should form the great argument against catholic emancipation, and yet that protestants should not be ashamed to persecute with the most

* Till the year 1810, indeed, the catholic priest was not allowed by law any remuneration for his arduous attention to his religious duties in hospitals, asylums, gaols, workhouses, or such like establishments. That year, however, a statute was passed allowing a certain limited compensation for officiating in county gaols: but owing to the manner in which the matter is conducted by the grand jury, who nominate the chaplain, it has in many instances proved an injury, instead of an advantage, by exciting discord between them and the catholic bishop of the district.

† *Mirari se aiebat, quod non rideret haruspex, cum haruspicem vidisset.* I wonder how one of our priests can forbear laughing when he sees another priest—said Cato the Censor;—(Cic. Oper. Ed. Gron. p. 3806.) and I have often been similarly surprised that any of our corpulent bishops or plump vicars can face a Catholic clergyman, or a dissenting minister, without blushing!

barbarous violence the noblest principles that can animate the breast of man—*Christian charity and the desire of knowledge*!”

Of the Laws which exclude Catholics from any Share in the Legislature, from Municipal Offices, and Offices connected with the Profession and Administration of the Laws.

Prior to the year 1692, catholics were admissible, by law, into both Houses of legislature in Ireland. This year, however, it was enacted by an English statute, “That no person who shall be a peer of the realm, or member of the House of Peers, shall vote or make his proxy in the House of Ireland, or sit there during any debate in the said House of Peers. And that no person who shall be a member of the House of Commons of Ireland shall vote in the House of Commons, or sit there during any debate after the Speaker is chosen, unless he shall first take the oaths of allegiance *and supremacy*, and make and subscribe the declaration in the said act mentioned (namely, 30 Cha. 2. stat. 2. ch. i.) against transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, idolatry of the church of Rome, invocation of the Virgin Mary, or the saints, &c.” And it is further directed, that “If any peer or commoner offend against this act, he becomes subject to a penalty of 500*l.*, recoverable by any common informer, and to all the punishments of a popish recusant convict: “To a disability of holding any office or place of trust under the Crown, civil or military; of suing or defending himself in any action or suit at law or in equity; of being executor or guardian, or taking any legacy or deed of gift, &c. &c.”†

This act was evidently an assumption of jurisdiction over Ireland, on the part of the English Parliament, to which they were not in any shape legally entitled. It was nevertheless

* As a proper explanation of the laws on this subject would require more detail than the limits of this work will admit of, the reader is referred for a complete view of them to the “Statement of the Penal Laws” already mentioned, p. 40—58.

† 3 William and Mary, ch. 2. Engl.

acquiesced in by the Parliament of the latter country, as may be presumed from the tenor of a statute enacted by them in 1697, whereby a catholic, marrying a protestant, was disabled from sitting or voting in either House of Parliament. For it cannot be supposed they would have placed a protestant so marrying in a worse situation than that of a catholic peer or commoner, which would have been the case, if the latter had not been deemed fully excluded by the English enactment. Moreover, to prevent all doubt relative to this question, the Irish Parliament enacted in 1782, (when the English legislature solemnly renounced their jurisdiction in Ireland) "That all clauses in English statutes relating to the taking of oaths or making or subscribing any declaration or affirmation in Ireland, or to penalties or disabilities in cases of omission, shall be in force in Ireland, according to their present tenor: In 1793, they renewed their vigilance by an enactment of similar import,* so that the doors of Parliament have now been cautiously shut against catholics for somewhat more than 120 years.†

But catholics are not merely excluded from seats in either House of Parliament; they do not even enjoy the full privilege of voting for protestant representatives, which might, perhaps, be some slight alleviation of their legislative bondage. In 1727, a statute was passed, in which it was enacted, "That no catholic shall be entitled to vote at the election of any member to serve in Parliament as a knight, citizen or

* 33 Geo. III. ch. 21, sec. 9.

† The oppressive operation of these laws is not confined to the mere exclusion of catholics from a share in the legislature, though that circumstance alone, considering the nature of the British constitution, is an oppression of the harshest kind. They further tend to degrade the catholic nobility, and powerfully repress the laudable ambition of thousands who might become ornaments to their country, were they permitted to share in all its honours. It is by patronage and parliamentary influence that situations and offices are chiefly to be obtained in this country; but these aids being denied to catholics, and entirely in the hands of protestants, it is clear that the former have little chance of attaining any appointment worthy of the exertion of splendid talents, or of an elevated mind.

burgess, or at the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate; any law, statute or usage notwithstanding." For sixty-six years this statute, remained in full force, without any alteration or limitation whatever. At length in 1793, it was enacted in substance, "That every Catholic should be qualified to vote at such elections. Upon his producing to the returning officer a certificate of his having taken and subscribed certain oaths and declarations required by that act."⁴

Under this statute no period of qualifying being mentioned, it was justly held that catholics might qualify *at any time*. A subsequent statute, however, passed in 1797, and usually called the Election Act, directs that catholics, who qualify *previous to the test of the writ of election*, shall be deemed qualified within the meaning of those statutes of 1793 and 1797, in order to entitle them to vote at such elections. From these enactments, a question has arisen, relative to the time for qualifying, which imposes new difficulties upon the catholic franchise, and as opposite decisions are frequently made upon it by the returning officers, a vast number of catholics have in consequence been disfranchised.

Moreover, besides this general impediment in the way of the elective franchise, peculiar restraints are imposed upon catholics in cities and towns corporate. For, though catholics are entitled to the freedom of corporations by birth or service, they are rarely admitted in them. And it may be added, as an additional circumstance operating to the exclusion of catholics to vote for representatives, that they are liable to rejection for the smallest inaccuracy or alleged error in their certificate of qualification, arising either from the date or wording of the certificate, place or time of qualification, or other ground of technical objection to the peculiar form of their qualification.

The exclusion of catholics from all corporate offices was first effected in the year 1667, during the reign of Charles II. In that year certain rules, orders and directions were pro-

⁴ 33 Geo. III. c. 21. sec. 7, 14, 15, 16.

promulgated by the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with the advice of his privy council, purporting to regulate the corporations of Ireland, and the election of corporate officers: these were soon after adopted and confirmed by the Irish legislature, and of course received the authority of law. They direct in substance, "That no person shall be mayor, sovereign, portreef or burgomaster, bailiff, alderman, recorder, treasurer, sheriff, town-clerk, common-councilman, master or warden of any guild, corporation or fraternity, or hold any such or the like offices in any city, walled town or corporation in Ireland. Unless he shall have taken the oath of supremacy, established by act of Parliament,* and certain other oaths specified by those rules, (*such persons only excepted*, with whose taking the said oaths of supremacy, the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor of Ireland for the time being, shall think fit, by writing under his hand and seal to dispense.)"†

Such are the statutable regulations by which catholics are excluded from the enjoyment of all corporate offices whatsoever. The dispensing power vested in the Lord Lieutenant has not mitigated the proscription, as it does not appear to have been exercised even in *one* instance. Indeed, it is a question of extreme doubt whether he now possesses it, for by a statute enacted in 1704,‡ the oath prescribed by the former act, has been replaced by a new oath of supremacy; and also by a declaration against transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and invocation of saints. The same are required to be taken and subscribed by those persons to whom the former oath was prescribed, and upon the like occasion, and the like manner, without any mention of a dispensing power existing in the person of the Lord Lieutenant. Further it may be observed, that as the Irish statute of 1782 already mentioned§ has introduced by one sweeping

* 2 Elizabeth.

† 17 and 18 Ch. II. ch. 2. 82.

‡ 2 Anne, ch. 14. sec. 2. which is the Irish Test Act.

§ 21 and 22 Geo. III. ch. 48. sec. 3.

enactment, all clauses in all English statutes relative to taking oaths and subscribing declarations, &c., the test and corporation acts of England are of course equally binding on Ireland, and it may be presumed are enforced with no less zeal and rigour in the later country than in the former. Nor ought I to omit to mention, that the act of 1793 has carefully confirmed and re-enacted all previous restrictions upon this point, by declaring, " That nothing therein contained shall enable any person to hold, exercise, or enjoy any office contrary to the rules, orders, or direction, made and established by the Lord Lieutenant and council, in pursuance of the act passed in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of King Charles II., entitled, " An Act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an Act, entitled, ' An Act for the better execution of His Majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of the Kingdom of Ireland ;' unless he shall have taken the oaths and performed the several requisites, which by the law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively."

From the existence of these laws, relative to municipal towns in Ireland, arise a thousand miseries and oppressions against the catholics. The number of municipal offices alone, from which they are expressly or consequentially excluded, are stated in the pamphlet already referred to at 4748. But this forms only a small part of the grievance of which catholics are entitled to complain in relation to this subject. They are of course continually exposed to the tyranny and caprice of municipal rulers, who following the rigorous spirit of the anti-catholic system, oppress them by partial imposts, by undue preferences, by a local inquisition, by an uncertain and unequal measure of justice ; by fraud and favouritism daily and openly practised to their prejudice. The catholic gentleman, whose misfortune it may be to reside in or near any of these cities or towns, is hourly exposed to all the slights and annoyances that a petty sectarian oligarchy may think proper to inflict. The professional man risks continual infliction of personal humiliation. The farmer brings the produce of his lands to market under heavier tolls. In

short, every species of catholic industry and skill is checked and rendered precarious, while on the other hand protestant indolence is cherished and maintained. Hence arises the peculiar misery of Irish corporate towns, the low state of the mechanical arts, the irrational combinations of the tradesmen; their abject poverty and debased condition.*

Again, in corporate towns, catholics, whatever be their wealth, talents, or services, are uniformly refused a place upon grand juries, and even upon petty juries, unless when the duty is extremely arduous and unconnected with party interests; and in the latter case they are usually selected. Having no share in the local government, they are completely at the mercy of rulers, who imagine it to be their interest to discourage and oppress them, and who indeed are generally preferred in proportion to the hostility they evince. Moreover, though not prevented by law from becoming freemen, they seldom are able to obtain that privilege; and this circumstance, independently of other bars, forms a strong obstacle to their chance of being permitted to vote at the elections of members for Parliament. The catholic, even when really entitled to his privileges as a freeman, and otherwise qualified to vote, finds his admission generally obstructed. For when his petition is presented, it is the common practice to adjourn the consideration of it *sine die*. This is termed "cushioning a petition."†

These laws and regulations must be felt peculiarly insulting by catholics, when they consider that every other denomination of religionists, and even deists and atheists, are admitted to all the privileges of corporate towns with the utmost facility.

Catholics are excluded either by the express letter of the law, or the consequential operation of the anti-catholic system, from almost every office connected with the profession

* In Dublin the number of freemen is about 2,400, of whom not above 100 are catholics; and even these, though free of their respective guilds, are incapable of voting at elections, through the uniform practice of cushioning their petitions to be made free of the city at large.

† See, by all means, Mr. Wakefield's *Account of Ireland*, Vol. ii. Chap. 27, *passim*.

and administration of the laws. Those from which they are so debarred by statutory enactment are the following :*

Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper or Commissioner of the Great Seal	-	-	-	-	1
Master or Keeper of the Rolls	-	-	-	-	1
Justices of the King's Bench	-	-	-	-	4
Justices of the Common Pleas	-	-	-	-	4
Barons of the Exchequer	-	-	-	-	4
Attorney and Solicitor General	-	-	-	-	2
King's Sergeants at Law	-	-	-	-	8
King's Council (present number)	-	-	-	-	26
Masters in Chancery	-	-	-	-	4
Chairman of Sessions for the County of Dublin	-	-	-	-	1
Counsel to the Commissioners of Revenue	-	-	-	-	2
Recorders of Cities and Towns, about	-	-	-	-	60
Advocates in Spiritual Courts, about	-	-	-	-	20
Sheriffs of Counties	-	-	-	-	32
Of Cities and Towns, about	-	-	-	-	20
Sub-Sheriffs	-	-	-	-	40
					<hr/> 240

By the consequential operation of the anti-catholic code, Catholics are likewise excluded in practice, almost without a single exception, from being commissioners of bankruptcy, assistant barristers or chairmen of county sessions.† The public notaries, amounting to 56 in number, are under a like proscription. In short, every office, either of honour or emolument, both in the higher and inferior courts may be regarded as wholly interdicted to catholics, for though apparently open to them, they are never able to obtain them, and never will, so long as the present penal code has existence.

* The statutes which enact the exclusion of catholics from these offices are, 2 Eliz. ch. 1, sec. 7, &c. 2 Anne, ch. 6, sec. 15, 16. 10 Will. 3. c. 13, 21. 22 Geo. 3. ch. 48. 31 Geo. 3. c. 31. 33 Geo. 3. c. 21, &c. &c.

† There are 25 commissioners and 31 assistant barristers.

Moreover, it may be observed that there are a variety of situations, which though termed ecclesiastical offices, have nevertheless extensive temporal jurisdiction attached to them, from all which catholics are excluded. Of this nature are those which decide upon questions of wills, of personal property, marriage, tithes, and other incidental subjects of moment. Such are the offices of vicars general of the 26 dioceses of Ireland, the court of delegates, prerogative court, metropolitan court, consistorial court, &c.*

Advocates and proctors in these courts are subject to the same regulation. Thus are there, on the whole, *one hundred and sixty* legal offices of honour and emolument inaccessible to catholic barristers, while they are wholly open to protestants, and fifteen hundred more reserved solely for the ruling class to the exclusion of catholic students, solicitors, attorneys, clerks, &c.

But, mere exclusion from the offices of the law is but a small part of the evil arising to catholics from the anti-catholic system on this subject. It affects not only their preferment, but absolutely endangers their property, their personal liberty, and even their lives. Thus, for example, a lord chancellor may discover that the greater part of the landed property in the country belongs to catholics; and that it increases annually. He may likewise observe that their tenures are mostly derivative interests, held by virtue of leases or for renewals of leases, under ancient and low rents. Zealous for the protestant establishment, therefore, he may even conscientiously assume it to be his duty upon principles of public policy to favour the protestants, and repress the catholics; and accordingly to lean towards the landlord, and against the tenant. Under these impressions he may introduce for this purpose a novel system of judicial decisions on the subject of leases, which might induce a general disposition towards *lease-breaking*, and thus involve the catholic tenantry in ruinous litigations, and eventually effect a partial subversion of leasehold property throughout the country.

* These offices are about 50 in number.

A lord chancellor might likewise exercise the great discretionary powers with which he is invested to the great injury of the catholics. Having the general superintendence of the commissions of the peace, he may carefully avoid nominating a single catholic to the commission, however qualified either by property or high character, lest it might seem like an encouragement of his religious tenets. The same principle may influence him also in the nomination of guardians to catholic children. He may remove the latter from catholic schools, and prohibit all intercourse between them and their kindred.

These observations may be applied with equal, if not with greater force, to other temporal courts. And particularly to the Court of King's Bench, in actions between the Crown and any catholic individual, who may be prosecuted for high treason, a breach of the peace, a public libel, or such like offences; also in disputes between catholics and a corporation.

With respect to ecclesiastical courts, to notice what might be done there, in the event of an over-zealous judge being seated on the bench, is unnecessary. The gross partiality evinced in many of them is notorious, and has frequently been the theme of parliamentary eloquence. Mr. Grattan, speaking of the Vicar's Court, says, "*The constitution of the Court is such that none but a partial judge has ever been known to preside there.*" Objections to the competency of witnesses are of no avail, even though their bias and corruption are clearly manifest. Many instances have been proved by the illustrious patriot above-mentioned, in which not merely the *tenth*, but a *fourth* of the produce of the industrious husbandman has been extorted from him under the sanction of this court, through the infamy of the proctor, and the hostility of the judge to catholic principles; which too frequently leads him to forget the most sacred precept of our religion: "*Do Justice, love Mercy; and walk humbly before God.*"

Did the limits of his work permit, the author could extend this Chapter to the size of a volume, so manifold are the grievances of which catholics have to complain relative to

the administration of justice in all its parts. As, however, he must necessarily confine himself within narrow bounds, he shall conclude this particular head with a very few further remarks on the subject of Juries, so justly regarded by Englishmen as the bulwark of their liberties.

The offices of sheriff and sub-sheriff, it has been already mentioned, are interdicted to catholics. It might have been added, that in fact they are usually filled by persons who have distinguished themselves as strenuous opposers of catholic freedom. As then the nomination, or at least the selection both of the grand and petty juries, rests entirely with these officers, can it be reasonably presumed that they are chosen indifferently, without favour or secret management? The supposition contradicts the clear evidence of experience and common sense. Ordinary human nature is incapable of such elevated integrity as such conduct presumes. It is impossible to imagine that they will not apply the principle of religious exclusion (to the support of which they were indebted for their own office) to the general selection of jurors, particularly in cases where the interests or character of their patrons, or of any of his dependants, happen to be involved. Nay, even where a question of private property is to be tried between a catholic and a protestant, they cannot fail to feel a bias in favour of the latter. In corporate cities and towns, the truth of these remarks is fully apparent. The sheriff being always the nominee of the corporation, he is found uniformly to return protestant juries; members of the corporation, who are generally the most anti-catholic, though not the most wealthy or reputable, portion of the protestant inhabitants. Thus are the lives, liberties, property and character of catholics placed in the hands of a partial and prejudiced jury.

Numerous instances could be adduced, in which verdicts have been pronounced in direct contradiction to the clearest and most conclusive evidence.—Nay, catholic prisoners have been frequently found guilty by the jury, when the crown lawyers have abandoned the prosecution as untenable, and the judge has directed an acquittal. On the other hand, protestant offenders, whose crime has been distinctly and unequivocally proved, have often been acquitted in opposition

to the unfavourable charge of the Judge. Nay, it has sometimes happened, that a convicted protestant robber or murderer has procured his pardon through his protestantism alone. All the local *soi-disant* loyalists fall to work. The grand jury interest themselves in his behalf. Memorials and petitions are prepared and subscribed. Vouchers of excellent character are procured: even catholics readily afford their signatures (lest they should be stigmatized as sanguinary and mercenary).—Thus the testimony appears *unanimous*; and the Lord Lieutenant is induced to pardon, or, perhaps, even to promote, the convict. Such is the condition of a protestant criminal: but how fares the catholic?—Condemned, probably, without sufficient evidence, or in contradiction to evidence of his innocence, he finds no one to interfere in his favour, except persons of his own condition and family, who, being catholics, are not regarded as *respectable*, the epithet affectedly applied to every thing Protestant. A thousand rumours are immediately propagated by his accusers, to the prejudice of his general character; he is proscribed as a dangerous man, a leader of a faction; and he suffers death, publicly protesting his innocence, fortified by the testimony of his confessor's belief of his veracity, and exciting the sympathy and regret of the people.*

If such facts as these be really found to happen in criminal proceedings, what hope of justice can the catholic have in civil actions? Many individuals will shrink from murder,

* In this place I had stated the case of poor Barry, a respectable catholic farmer in Waterford, in good circumstances, who was executed, as the author of the "Statement" asserts, unjustly, in the year 1810. It is a truly "tragical instance," and I little dreamt of danger in mentioning it; but, fortunately, before the sheet containing it was worked off, I learned that Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Dublin publisher, had been visited by one of those formidable engines of anti-catholic power, an *ex-officio* information, for publishing this very statement. Now, as I have no sort of taste for these things; nor any ardent desire to be dragged even into the elegant private apartments of an Attorney General; and, moreover, as I might not—nay, as it is almost morally impossible such an insignificant person should—succeed in turning the tables on Mr. Attorney General, as Mr. Fitzpatrick may possibly do, I have thought it prudent to suppress this matter relative to Mr. Barry. It is a great comfort to my mind, that I live in a land where the

whose conscience will allow them, almost without a pang, to assist in depriving a supposed enemy of his character or property. The whole system of protestant education is calculated to fix upon the mind a contemptible notion, not merely of the religion but of the morals of catholics. In short, protestants are taught to regard them as beings, whom it is their duty and interest to crush and depress. Slander and defamation of character are regarded as their common inheritance. The most outrageous and unprovoked insults against them are sanctioned by the verdict of a jury. In questions of property, where any part of the case depends upon the character of witnesses, the result is seldom favourable to the catholic. Indeed, so notorious is the bias and partiality displayed by Irish protestant juries, that it is grown into a proverb among the common people of Ireland, "*That there is no law for a catholic.*"

Such are the consequences of the anti-catholic code on the administration of justice in Ireland, the proper conduct of which is so essential to the happiness and prosperity of a nation.

Of the Laws relative to Catholics entering the Army or Navy.

Previous to the union in 1800, the naval and military establishments of Great Britain and Ireland remained distinct. Since that period, however, they have been united into one; the chief government and superintendence of them being of course seated in England. Under these cir-

liberty of the press, that grand palladium of our freedom, is so generally allowed; yet in having timely suppressed this LIBEL concerning the execution of Mr. Barry, I feel like a person who has been suddenly snatched from the jaws of death and destruction; to say nothing of the injury which my reputation as an author must have sustained, had I joined in the censure against these "shocking circumstances," which the author of the "Statement" says, "the Duke of Richmond's administration may yet be invited to explain to Parliament." What is said of poets in particular, may be predicated of authors in general, that they

" — would forfeit half the fame they've got,
 " If it were known what they discreetly blot."

circumstances, it would seem particularly requisite that the laws of both countries should be consistent, relative to this subject. So far, however, from being consistent, they are decidedly at variance.

By the test act of England, "Every one who shall be admitted into any office civil or military, or shall receive any pay, salary, fee or wages, by reason of any office or place of trust, or by reason of any patent or grant from His Majesty, shall publicly take the oaths of supremacy, abjuration, &c., and take and subscribe the *Declaration* against transubstantiation, the mass, &c., and also receive the sacrament publicly, according to the usage of the church of England, within six months after his admission, under the penalty of 500*l.* and disability to hold the office."^{*}

A similar law existed also in Ireland till the year 1798, at which time it was repealed† as to all military offices, except of those, master or lieutenant-general of the ordnance, commander in chief of the forces, and generals on the staff. In England, however, the statute above quoted remains "in full force, stern and unmitigated." Hence arises a palpable incongruity in the military system of this empire, and an effectual repulsion against catholics both in the army and navy. The plausible shew of relief held out by the Irish statute proves a mere phantom; an insidious abuse of catholic credulity; a lure, merely calculated to decoy catholics into the public service, from all the honours and rewards of which they are completely excluded.‡ Nay, not only are they debarred from preferment, but by the operation of the English statute, a catholic ensign, who has received his commission in Ireland, vacates it *ipso facto* the instant he is sent out of his own country. It is not enough to say that in reality he retains it, for such retention being expressly against law, he has no assurance that the favour by which alone he holds it will long continue. Prudent men, perceiving this, will never be willing to commit their sons to the profession

* Engl. stat. 25. ch. 2. c. 2.

† 53 Geo. I. ch. 2. sec. 9.

‡ The total number of offices of power and emolument from which they are completely excluded in the army and navy, does not amount to fewer than 20,000.

of arms, for which they may be admirably suited both by talents and personal prowess. As for catholics of rank and property entering either the army or navy, so long as the disabilities exist, the idea is altogether hopeless. An elevated and noble mind can never brook restrictions by which those in a similar station to himself are not equally affected. How galling the thought, how calculated to promote disaffection and indifference to the service, that no merit nor exertion of yours can afford you the smallest hope of rising beyond a certain rank; while the highest commands are open to all those, however mean their talents or original station, who are willing to conform to the creed of the established church! To what but this intolerant system is it owing, that Irish catholic officers are to be found in the service of foreign states, and even fighting against the armies of England? Away, then, with this miserable offspring of bigotry and persecution, and lay open to all equally the paths of honour and glory.

The consequences of this system of exclusion from offices in the army and navy are hurtful in the extreme. It renders naval and military officers of the Protestant persuasion personally hostile to catholics in general, and of course destroys that mutual regard which should subsist between brother officers, and between officers and the men under their command. Instances are not unfrequent in which even generals have evinced a spirit of scorn or contempt towards catholics, especially on foreign service. In all lucrative appointments within their disposal, either in, or connected with the army or navy: they invariably reject persons of that religion. The commissaries, agents, contractors, prize-masters, purasers, clerks, treasurers, medical assistants, purveyors, store-keepers, barrack masters, garrison officers, &c. are almost without exception protestants. In fine, the operation of this system extends to every situation above that of a common soldier. Hence it happens, that the catholics, having no relative connexion or near friend of note, either in the army or navy, in general display a total indifference about the events of war. The public feeling of all ranks and classes, *the poor as well as the rich*, are wholly absorbed in the sad contemplation of the evils peculiar to their own condition, and in projecting the means of redress. Nei-

ther triumphs nor defeats excite in their minds any lively interest, or awaken any earnest attention. They scarcely consider themselves as a party to any war or to any peace; neither elated by victory nor mourning for disaster.

But exclusion from the offices of the army and navy, grievous as it is, is yet less tyrannical and intolerant than was the practice of compelling soldiers and sailors, whether officers or privates, to attend protestant places of worship, and obstructing them in the exercise of their own religion. Yet that the law, at least till lately, authorized such compulsion and obstruction is unquestionable. "The mutiny act of last year declares, "That it shall and may be lawful to and for His Majesty to form, make and establish articles of war for the better government of His Majesty's forces, which articles shall be judicially taken notice of by all judges and in all courts whatsoever."*

The articles, so framed in pursuance of this act, and by its authority, direct *inter alia*, "That all officers and soldiers not having just impediment shall diligently frequent divine service and sermon, in the places appointed for the assemblage of the regiment, troop, or company to which they belong."

"And that such as wilfully absent themselves, or being present behave indecently or irreverently, shall, if commissioned officers, be brought before a court-martial, and there be publicly and severely reprimanded by the president; if non-commissioned officers or soldiers, every person so offending shall, for his first offence, forfeit twelve pence, to be deducted out of his nett pay: for the second offence he shall not only forfeit twelve pence, but be laid in irons for twelve hours, and for every like offence shall suffer and pay in like manner."

By this regulation it is evident that catholics, as well as protestants, are bound to attend such places of worship as may be appointed for any regiment by the commanding officer. Now, it is a fact that protestant places of worship alone are appointed: indeed, no officer has authority to appoint any other. Hence it follows that catholics are liable to punish-

* Stat. 31 Geo. 3. ch. 8. sec. 1.

ment and fine, if they absent themselves from the protestant church. Nay, their so absenting themselves may be construed into a *disobedience of orders*, and they may be punished even capitally for refusing to comply with a regulation which prevents them from following one of the six principal commandments of their religion, by which they are directed "To assist, devoutly and regularly, at the celebration of mass, upon every sunday and holiday throughout the year." Surely such conduct towards the defenders of our country, as this statute authorizes, deserves the severest reprobation. It is inconsistent both with the spirit and letter of the toleration act, which allows to most dissenters the free exercise of their religion. How ungenerous that Britons should proudly boast of their achievements in the Peninsula, and yet brutally tyrannize over thousands of those very men by whose heroic valour their victories have been gained! One of the noblest ornaments the chapel of Whitehall can boast, (the eagle taken at Barossa) was the trophy of an *Irish catholic regiment*,* whose exertions equally contributed to the victory of Maida.

Having said thus much on the subject of the obstructions to which catholic soldiers and sailors are liable in the exercise of their religion, it is but justice to the Commander in Chief to observe, that the practice of compelling catholic soldiers to attend the protestant church has been strictly prohibited by a late circular letter to the different officers commanding corps or regiments in the British service. It is to be hoped that this is the first step towards the adoption of a more liberal system, both in the army and navy, though in the latter nothing but downright protestantism is yet permitted. Military orders, however, upon this subject are not sufficient. The legislature alone can ensure the catholic soldier or sailor the liberty of following the religion which he approves. A violation of orders may easily be connived at, and must be endured; for these not being cognizable in civil courts, and no legal redress being provided by statutory enactments, the injured and insulted catholic can only appeal to a military court, with extreme hazard to himself, and little

* 87th, or Irish, Fusiliers.

hope of remedy, even should he establish his case, so long as the anti-catholic code continues the disgrace of our statutes.

But not only ought catholic soldiers to possess the free exercise of their religion, they should likewise have it in their power in every situation to avail themselves of this right. Now it is well-known, that though catholic places of worship, and catholic clergymen are sufficiently numerous in Ireland, the case is somewhat different in England. In many parts of the latter country, as well as in foreign settlements, catholic clergymen cannot be found to officiate; so that the right of attending divine service according to their own forms, is of little advantage to an Irish catholic regiment, when sent beyond the limits of Ireland. Some method of supplying such regiments with catholic chaplains, therefore, becomes requisite. Even those catholics who may have entered a regiment chiefly composed of protestants should have every possible facility of public worship afforded them. Till this takes place, the public service in this department of the state, and in the navy, must suffer very material obstruction: catholics will never willingly enter either so long as they are in the smallest degree restricted in the exercise of their religion, and liable to punishment for what is, properly speaking, no part of military or naval duty.

Laws affecting Catholics relative to Parochial Affairs.

In order that the reader may properly understand the extent of the grievances of catholics on this subject, it will be necessary to state a few particulars relative to the peculiar state and distribution of landed property in Ireland.

Lands in Ireland are almost universally held by tenants, under leases for certain terms of lives or years, at a considerable annual rent. Such tenants alone, if actual occupiers of the lands, are chargeable with all tithes, parish rates, county cesses, public taxes, and other outgoings, no part of them in any case falling upon the proprietor or landlord, or upon any of the persons deriving immediate interests between the proprietor and actual occupier. Now, not above a

tenth part of the landlords or proprietors in Ireland are catholic, while on the other hand almost the whole tenantry* are of that persuasion. Hence it follows that all parochial burdens, public taxes, &c. are chiefly supported by catholics.

Such is the present condition of landed property in Ireland. I shall now examine the principles of taxation upon which this property is legally rated, and the proportion of rate charged.

All parochial taxes are regulated under the name and by the authority of parish vestries. A parish vestry is properly an assembly of the whole parish, that is, of all the inhabitants who pay church rates, or scot and lot, and all occupiers of land, though non-resident, met together in a convenient place for the dispatch of the affairs and business of the parish. In 1735, however, it was deemed expedient to exclude catholics from voting in vestries held for the repairing and rebuilding of churches.† This exclusion was afterwards re-enacted in 1798.‡ In consequence of these and other enactments relative to other taxes, and the constant practice of all parishes, parochial vestries, at present, instead of consisting of the inhabitants and land occupiers of the parish, in fact consist only of those few who are protestants.

Now it is well known that the powers of a vestry are various and extensive. This meeting is legally empowered to incur heavy expenses on the part of the parish, to levy large sums of money upon the houses, lands, and persons of the inhabitants at large; to apportion those sums upon individuals, and to apply them at their discretion unexamined and uncontrolled, &c. to transact generally the local business of the parish. They are authorized, indeed bound,§ to repair the whole church, and to provide every requisite connected with church service. Nay, by common law, they may make rates at their discretion for enlarging or rebuilding an old church, if too small.

* Not more than one out of 200 are protestants.

† 12 Geo. I. ch. 9. sec. 7.

‡ 33 Geo. III. ch. 21. sec. 4.

§ 7 Geo. IV. ch. 7. 23 Geo. III. ch. 20. 25 Geo. III. ch. 20.

By statutes,* the lord lieutenant and privy council, archbishops or bishops, may order new churches in better places, erect new parishes, change a parish church into a cathedral church, and, vice versa, a cathedral into a parish church—for all or any of which purposes the consent of the majority of protestant parishioners in vestry assembled is sufficient to assess any rate without limit.

Vestries have, further, the power of appointing the parish clerk, church-wardens, and other parish officers, and may give them what salary they deem proper. They may likewise demise, and dispose of the parish income and estate at will; and, being entirely composed of protestants, they have it in their power to dispose of it among themselves, at an under value, and levy the annual deficiency upon the catholic land-occupiers, under the general head of *church rates*.

In imposing the rates, the form is as follows:—The church-wardens and *protestant* parishioners assemble together pursuant to notice, posted upon the *church door only*. This meeting constitutes a vestry, competent to make any rate. But if no parishioners attend, or if the vestry *will not* make the rate, the church-wardens alone may make it, and if they fail, they may be cited and punished by the spiritual court.

The gross rate being determined upon, it is next to be apportioned, that is to say, the vestry proceeds to decide upon the precise sum or share of it *each parishioner* is to pay. This apportionment, when made, is examinable by *protestant parishioners* ALONE, who may alter, add to, or new model it, as they think fit.

The miserable consequences flowing from this constitution of parish vestries, aided by the general influence of the Anti-Catholic code, cannot be too much deplored. The hard earnings of the poor catholic husbandman are appropriated at will by his protestant tyrants, for whatever purposes they may think proper. There exists no check, not even that of an oath, to prevent them from abusing the powers with which they are legally, but unjustly, invested. Their will is law,—

* 2 Geo. I. ch. 14. 10 Geo. 2. ch. 6. 12 Geo. I. ch. 9.

and law against which the catholic farmer has not even the *privilege* of appeal. They may, therefore, direct such undertakings, and applot such rules, as to their pleasure may seem meet. They may estimate the labour, adjust the charge, and allot the compensation without control. They may thus compliment each other with liberal allowances, and compel the catholic parishioners to pay the whole amount.

Here, then, is an enormous power vested in a small minority of the people, to impose upon the great majority a grievous impost annually increasing in amount, and capable of being increased infinitely by law; a power vested in the wealthy protestants to levy unlimited contributions upon the humble and industrious catholic, and enabling those who receive, to tax "*ad libitum*" those who are compelled to pay.

But not only may the vestry levy such taxes as they think proper, they may likewise appoint catholics to offices against their inclination. For instance, they may compel them to become church-wardens, and this is not unfrequently done, when the office is laborious and chargeable. In Ireland, the peculiar duties of church-wardens are of an ecclesiastical nature, being principally to be the guardians of the church, and representatives of the protestant parishioners; to sue for the goods of the church; take charge of the repairs; summon vestries; provide protestant books of prayer; and perform a variety of other offices of a similar nature. Hence catholics may be forced, by their protestant neighbours, to act in situations wholly foreign and repugnant to their habits, an outrage upon their feelings, an enormous tax upon their time and attention, and impossible to be effectually fulfilled without offering public and repeated violence to their consciences.

Moreover, that catholics might not be enabled to evade this office, by delaying or declining to take the necessary oaths of qualification, it has been enacted, "That church-wardens shall be deemed legal officers, and made accountable after six weeks' entry of their election in the vestry book,"* which

* 23 and 24 Geo. 3. ch. 49. § 10.

entry, signed by the incumbent, and three parishioners, is conclusive evidence against the churchwarden, although had without his assent or knowledge.

A catholic so nominated, becomes accountable to protestant vestries, in which he has no vote, for the entire amount of any applotments, however unjust, which they may think proper to make, even though he may never be able to collect them. If he fail to collect them, and pay them over, he is sued by his successor, as if he had actually levied them. He is, moreover, chargeable with all the arrears due by his predecessors, if he shall not make strict proof of his having sued them for such arrears within six months: and the bishop is empowered to sue him as if they had fully accounted with him. This odious duty is cast upon the catholic churchwarden, although his predecessor may (as in some instances) happen to be a fraudulent and insolvent protestant, perhaps the brother or son of the very rector or justice.

Laws affecting Catholics, relative to the right of Self-Defence.

By the law of nature every man is, doubtless, entitled to defend himself against the insults or attacks of another. This right is fully admitted as a fundamental principle of the constitution, by solemn statutes, which declare that every citizen is entitled to have arms for his defence, suitable to his condition and degree.

This privilege, however, is denied to catholics. The first act on the subject was passed in 1695.* It directs in substance, that all catholics within the kingdom of Ireland, shall discover and deliver up, by a certain day, to the justice or civil officers, all their arms, armour, and ammunition, of every kind; and that after that day, any two justices, or a mayor, sheriff, &c. may grant a warrant of search, and compel any catholic suspected of having concealed arms, &c. to

* 7 Will. 3. ch. 5.

appear before them, and answer the charge on suspicion upon his oath.

It further enacts, that every Catholic refusing or neglecting to discover and deliver up his arms, or refusing to answer, or obstructing the search, or not appearing to be examined, upon summons, or not answering upon oath, &c. shall, for the first offence, suffer a fine of £30. and one year's imprisonment, and for the second offence, all the pains and penalties of persons attainted on a præmunire.

Every maker of fire arms, locks, or barrels, swords, knives, or other weapons, is forbidden to take any Catholic apprentice, under a penalty of £20. upon the master, and £20. upon the servant.

An act passed in 1698, entitled "An act for the preservation of game,"* directs, that "no Catholic shall be employed as fowler to any Protestant, or shall have, keep, use, or carry any guns or fire arms, under colour or pretence thereof."

In 1739,† the whole of the above prohibitions were re-enacted, when the fine for having arms was raised to £50., and it was directed, that in the event of the convicted Catholic not paying this fine within one month after the expiration of his year's imprisonment, the informer should be paid the sum of £10., to be presented by the grand jury, and levied upon the Catholic inhabitants of the district.

The same act renders it imperative on justices, &c. under certain penalties, to issue their search warrants once in every year, authorizing all high and petty constables to make close and diligent search, according to the directions of the former statutes. And it further enacts, "That no Catholic should have or keep for sale or otherwise, or under any pretence whatsoever, any warlike stores, sword blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns or fire arms, under penalty of £20. fine, and one year's imprisonment."

* 10 Will. 3 c. 8. § 4.

† 13 Geo 2. ch. 6. § 1, 2, 10.

The next statute was enacted in 1775,* and is much more vigorous than any of the former. By this act "Any *one justice, &c.* is empowered within his county or jurisdiction, from time to time, as well by night as by day, to search for, seize and carry away, or cause to be searched for, seized and carried away, all arms and ammunition whatever belonging to or in the custody or possession of any Catholic (not duly licensed), or in the hands or possession of any person in trust for any Catholic; and for that purpose to enter into any dwelling-house, out-house, field, or other place belonging to any Catholic or reputed Catholic, or belonging to any other person whatsoever, where such justice shall have reasonable cause to suspect that any such arms or ammunition shall be concealed."

The same statute further enacts, that "if any such Catholic or other person, upon such search, shall refuse to deliver up the same, answer upon oath, &c. he shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, or by such corporal punishment of *pillory or whipping*, as the court (of sessions) before whom he shall be tried, may in their discretion think proper."

This act was made perpetual in 1800:†

Having thus stated the various laws enacted at different times, relative to Catholics keeping or using arms in Ireland, it now becomes necessary to shew how far they have been mitigated. The statute 1793, already so often mentioned, has among many others the following clause: "That nothing therein contained shall extend to authorize any Catholic to have or keep in his hands, or possession any arms, &c. &c., or to exempt such person from any forfeiture, or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armour, or ammunition in the hands or possession of any Catholic, or respecting Catholic keeping such warlike stores, (save and except Catholics seized of a freehold estate of £100 yearly, or possessed of a personal estate of £1,000. or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as protestants

* 15 and 16 Geo. III. ch. 21. § 15.

† 40 Geo. III. c. 96.

now by law may : and also except Catholics possessing a freehold estate of £10. yearly value, or £300. personal estate, who shall take the oath of 13 and 14 Geo. III. at the sessions, and in open court swear and subscribe an affidavit of the fact of such property), and Catholics so qualifying may keep arms and ammunition as protestants may, so long as they continue to possess such property."

From this clause it is evident that there are only two classes of catholics in Ireland, legally authorized to have and use arms : 1st, Such as are seized of a freehold property worth 100l. yearly, or personal property to the amount of 1,000l. and take the oath prescribed by the above act. And, 2dly, Such as possess 10l. yearly of freehold property or 300l. personal property, and take the oath of 13 and 14 Geo. III.; and also swear and subscribe an affidavit, *in open court*, verifying the value of such property; and beside qualify in terms of the statute of 1798.

All catholics not possessing the amount of property above mentioned, or failing in any part of the conditions of qualification (that is to say, the great majority of catholics), still continue liable to the utmost rigour of the different statutes of 1695, 1698, 1739, and 1775.

Innumerable are the hardships, injuries and insults to which a catholic is continually exposed from the operation of these laws. By them he is placed wholly at the mercy of protestant justices and constables; his house may be broke into at any hour either of the day or night. He may be summoned to a public scrutiny upon oath so often as they think fit; his arms may be taken from him; he may be fined or imprisoned, or even punished with *pillory* and *whipping*, upon the slightest evidence of his attempting to evade the law. He is likewise deprived of various legal means of providing for himself or his family. Thus he cannot hold the situation of a game-keeper; he cannot be a cutler, or cutler's apprentice, a gun-smith, or a gun-smith's apprentice; neither can he keep for sale, or otherwise, any warlike stores, ammunition, sword-blades, barrels, locks, stocks of guns, or fire arms.

Moreover the protestants being not only permitted to keep arms, but being actually armed by the authority of government

with the view of defending the country and overawing the rebellions, it may easily be imagined that abuses are frequent. The northern counties, in particular, have exhibited scenes too shocking for description. Deliberate and unprovoked murders, attended with circumstances of the most horrid barbarity, have been often perpetrated, and the perpetrators escaped unpunished. Besides not having the means of defending themselves, Catholics are exposed more than any other subjects, to robberies and depredations. They are not permitted to enter any of the volunteer or yeomanry corps, but are completely open to the militia ballot. Indeed, they are the only persons in Ireland such ballot can effect, because almost every Protestant, being a member of one or other of these corps, thereby enjoys full protection.

Of some further miscellaneous Laws and Penalties affecting Catholics.

In the foregoing sections of this Appendix, I have confined myself to the notice of such laws as were passed for the avowed and distinct object of depressing the Catholics. But besides these, there are various statutes relative to general purposes; containing clauses which, either directly or indirectly, militate against the rights and privileges of this class of religionists; and to them I shall now briefly direct my attention.

By a statute enacted in 1695,* a pecuniary fine of £3. and in case of non-payment, the punishment of whipping, is imposed on every hired labourer or servant who shall refuse to work on any day of the year, excepting on such days as named in the statute. The operation of this statute is, that Catholics are compelled to work on many holidays appointed by their Church.

The statute 1699,† inflicts a penalty of £10. on every

* 7 Will. 3. c. 14.

† 9 Will. 3. c. 2.

person who shall be aiding or assisting in burying any dead, in any other place but in a *Protestant churchyard*. By this law the feelings of Catholics are insulted, even in the nicest point of their religion, and on a subject which never fails to awaken the keenest sensations.

In 1703,* it was enacted, that a fine of £10. or in default of payment, the punishment of *whipping*, shall be inflicted on every person who shall be present at any pilgrimage, or meeting, held at any holy-well, or reputed holy-well. By the same law, all magistrates are required to demolish all *crosses*, pictures, or *inscriptions*, any where publicly set up for the veneration or respect of Catholics. It is shameful to deprive the Catholics of the privilege of following the precepts of their religion, but it is ridiculous to curb them in their pious and innocent amusement.

By the statute 1571,† it is high treason to obtain any writ or printed instrument from the Pope or Bishop of Rome, or any person authorized by him. The hardship, injustice, inconvenience, and impolicy of this law are too apparent to require illustration.

The public education of Catholics is wholly neglected in Ireland, except at the College of Maynooth, which cannot educate a tenth of the necessary supply of Catholic clergymen; there is no public Catholics' seminary for Catholics in Ireland. Till 1793, Catholics were not admissible into the College of Dublin, even as students, and at this moment they remain excluded from being "*members*" of that college. To these rigid regulations against Catholics, on the score of education, may be added those which relate to the charitable foundations of Ireland. Catholics are indeed admissible into them, but their *children must be educated by Protestant masters, and in Protestant principles*.

It has been already noticed, that Catholic laymen may be guardians to Catholic children under certain conditions.—

* 2 Anne c. 6. § 7.

† 18 Eliz. c. 2.

Whether a Catholic clergyman can act in that capacity, however, under any circumstances, still remains doubtful.

Catholics following the profession of medicine, are not directly excluded from holding situations in the line of their profession, either in the navy or army, or in hospitals; but this is sufficiently effected by the operation of the Anti-Catholic system in general. It is a fact, that scarcely a single Catholic holds even any inferior medical situation of a public nature.

Catholics are not allowed the liberty of presenting even to Protestant benefices, though this right is permitted to persons of every other religion, and also to foreigners: nay, he cannot even give up his right in trust to a Protestant; for, by statute 1704, it is enacted, "that whenever any Catholic should claim, possess or enjoy, any advowson on right of patronage or presentation, to any ecclesiastical benefice, (or where any Protestant should claim, possess, or enjoy, any such right in trust for a Catholic) the same should be thereby *ipso facto* vested in the crown, according to such estate as such Catholic might have therein, until such Catholic, or his heir, should abjure his religion." And this clause is re-enacted in 1793, omitting so much of it as regards trustees. What the effect of this omission may be still remains to be tried. The absurdity and manifest injustice of this law is evident. It is depriving Catholics of a right, which a Protestant considers as a part of his property, being a saleable commodity. Even in Catholic France this privilege has never been denied to Protestants of any sect. Yet France is a land of tyranny, and Ireland a land of freedom,—at least, so the "Anti-Catholics" tell us!!!

In this way, brief as it is, could I proceed to write many sheets, on the disabilities which affect Catholics. The limits within which my work is necessarily restrained, however, compel me to draw to a conclusion. I shall only, therefore, further remark, in general, that there is scarcely a relation, even in the ordinary conduct of human life, in which Catholics do not, more or less, keenly feel the noxious influence of the intolerant code, which even allowing that it might be pru-

dent in our fore-fathers to frame, it would be undoubtedly, wise and provident in us to abolish. The days of bigotry and persecution are gone, I trust, for ever. The mind, enlightened by rational Christianity, and soothed by philosophy, has learned to appreciate justly the precepts of religion. It perceives, that moderation and forbearance are virtues of the highest order, absolutely essential to human happiness, and without which, all the doctrines of theological metaphysics, which the mind of man has hitherto been able to conceive, lose every thing of value, dignity, or goodness.

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* * The reader will observe, that the foregoing Index, which was compiled by a friend, contains a *distinct reference to the various authorities* which I have consulted in the composition of this work ; that my materials being known, at once, the fallacy or the faithfulness of my statements might be more readily discovered.

ERRATA.

Page	Line
19,	1, <i>for Constantinopolitan read Constantinopolitan</i>
30,	3, — <i>Besançon, read Besançon</i>
62, Note *	dele the two last lines
67, Note *	3, <i>for Colixtus read Calixtus</i>
92,	18, — <i>Francesco read Francesco</i>
124,	9, — <i>Macenas read Mæcenas</i>
180, Note *	2, dele been
233,	20, <i>for whatever read whatsoever</i>
269,	5, from the bottom, <i>for horrible read horrible</i>
293,	1, <i>for Catechisms read Catechisms</i>
326, Note *	9, from the bottom, <i>for burn read burnt</i>
344,	6, from the bottom, <i>for Doway read Douay</i>
365, Note †	8, <i>for Gandolphy read Gandolphy,</i>
390,	8, — <i>kisses read kiss his</i>
393,	2, — <i>him read himself.</i>
400,	17, — <i>animarum read animarum</i>
405,	10, from the bottom, <i>after the read year</i>
407,	18, <i>for commendum read commendam</i>
430,	2, — <i>Chemb:r read Chamber</i>
436, Note *	2, from the bottom, <i>for in length at read at length in</i>
439,	9, <i>after chain read of</i>
444,	5, <i>for prosecute read persecute</i>
449,	7, <i>after free-will, read and</i>
450,	18, <i>for Bullenger read Bullinger</i>
472,	6 from the bottom, <i>for beral read liberal</i>
478, Note *	10, <i>for parliament read parliament</i>

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